PANJĀB UNDER THE GREAT MUGHALS 1526-1707 A.D.

BAKHSHISH SINGH NIJJAR

By the same author

Panjab Under the Sultans 1000-1526. A. D.

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1526 - 1707 A.D.

(*This is approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of the Panjāb, Chandigarh*).

By

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BOOK TRADERS
P. O. BOX 1854
LAHORE

FIRST PAKISTANI EDITION
1979

PUBLISHED BY : **MUSTAFA WAHEED**

PRINTED AT : **MASOOD PRINTERS
LAHORE.**

Dedicated

to

Sardārni Swaran Kaur, my beloved wife, who took upon herself most willingly and ungrudgingly all the burdens of the house-hold, so as to allow me to devote myself completely and unreservedly to my academic pursuits.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

IT would have been impossible for me to complete this thesis but for the unrestricted use I was privileged to have of the late Sir Jadunath Sarkar's Library, containing one of the richest collections of historical works and manuscripts in India. Despite his extremely busy life, Sir Jadunath was generous enough to spare, in 1956, some of his precious time to make available the manuscripts and to give some very valuable suggestions. His comments, in appreciation of my efforts, to his supervisor, Dr. Hari Ram Gupta, Professor of History, Panjab University, Chandigarh,* were a source of constant encouragement to me. Sir Jadunath also recommended me to Dr. K. K. Qanungo, Professor of History, Lucknow University, who helped me with some more of the rarest manuscripts. The Librarians of the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Bankipur, Patna; the National Library, Calcutta; the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta and Fergusson College Library, Poona; are equally to be thanked for their valued co-operation and help.

Among other scholars of repute and friends who helped me are Dr. R. R. Sethi, Prof. and Head of the History Deptt., Panjab University; Dr. Vishva Bandhu, Director, Vishveshvaran-Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur; Prof. K. M. Maitra, Cataloguer, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta; Dr. Ganda Singh; Dr. S. S. Bal; Mr. M. L. Khosla, Principal, Mahendra College, Patiala; Mr. Kirpal Singh Narang, Registrar, Panjab University, Chandigarh; Mr. Amjad Ali Khan; Mr. Joginder Pal Marwaha; and Dr. C. L. Sharma.

BAKHSHISH SINGH NIJJAR

*10, Lake Terrace, Calcutta-29, 10th August, 1956

Dear Hari Ram, I have duly received all your letters, and have also given what help I could to Prof. B. Nijjar. He impressed me favourably as a very earnest and hard working scholar, well up in Persian....

Yrs.,
Jadunath Sarkar

FOREWORD

HAVING followed the progress of Dr. Bakhshish Singh Nijjar's researches on PANJAB UNDER THE GREAT MUGHALS from close quarters, it is a pleasure writing the Foreword to the ultimate shape in which he now places his scholarly labours before the reader. This work, originally a Doctoral thesis accepted by the Panjab University, Chandigarh, has now been revised for publication.

The abundant wealth of material in which lay hidden almost a virgin story was both a challenge and a promise to any investigator. Dr. Nijjar, however, knew the extent of his commitment and the munificence of his reward when he undertook this voyage of exploration.

The materials have now yielded up their treasures to the persistent and indefatigable years of efforts to give us the history of the Mughal Panjāb emancipated from the heresy and traditional lore and fortified by the thick rampart of research. Guided by the principle that history must see life as a whole, Dr. Nijjar has painted a wide canvas which makes the age live again. He depicts the people in their joys and sorrows, faiths and ceremonies, moving about the village roads and working in their fields, and handicrafts.

Dr. Nijjar has divided his work into fourteen chapters with the more important ones in the end. The first seven chapters which give us the political history of the Panjāb under the Great Mughals are short and the background to what follows. They have, however, an originality of their own, being the first serious attempt to make us familiar with the names and acts of the Mughal Governors over a region whose "complete domination" was absolutely necessary for even the Great Mughals to "feel secure on the throne". These chapters rescue from oblivion Mir Yunis Ali, Haibat Khan Niazi, Khwaja Vais Sherwani, Hussain Ali Khan, Qulich Khan and a host of "his own men" each of whom the clever Aurangzeb appointed Panjāb Governors for "a very limited period" to avoid "any kind of intrigues or manipulations against him".

The eighth chapter on 'The Sikh Gurus and the Great Mughals' links the political with the social and economic history of the Panjāb in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It gives the story of the relations between the Sikh Gurus and the Mughal Emperors, woven in a crisp account of the entire history of the Sikh movement under its ten pontiffs and its transformation from a quietist sect to a powerful instrument of social reform and political awakening. Dr. Nijjar has succeeded in putting the Sikh history under the Gurus in its proper historical perspective and focus the readers' attention on it in a way as to make the trials and tribulations of the Gurus and the earlier Sikh martyrs shine with all the greater lustre than in isolated accounts of the Sikhs.

The last five chapters which constitute the major part of the book enter into the details of the Mughal administration in the Panjāb and its religious policy and the social set up that resulted from the rule of the Great Mughals. They enter into vivid details of the Éducation and Literature and are boldly original in ascribing the artistic expression of the times in various fields like architecture, painting, sculpture, gardening and building of towns as much to the spirit of creativity livened by the socio-religious movements as to the patronage of Mughal Emperors and their Governors in the Panjāb.

Dr. Nijjar's description of the Panjāb society in the two centuries that he covers in his book is full of details. He writes, however, with critical objectivity and depicts both sides of the picture. If he has underlined the fact that in this period, the teaching of the Catholic Sufi saints and the Sikh Gurus had brought about a closer understanding between the Hindus and the Muslims and thus "loosened the ever present tension of religious ideology and belief", he also suggests that "plunder, robbery and debauchery were the order of the day" and with "cruelty, extravagence, vices and profligacy being practiced freely . . . honour, justice and pride were sold and bought with slavish pride and joy". The last chapter is the conclusion, where the author has summed up his critical findings, and thereafter comes the bibliography.

Dr. Nijjar's work on the Panjāb under the Great Mughals is a careful and well-documented study of an important subject hitherto not studied in such detail. The later chapters are devoted to very important themes and interpret the Panjāb and its people to us in an easy and readable style. The book is a valuable addition to historical literature on the Panjāb and shall be read with profit by the students and scholars alike.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

ETYMOLOGY

The word Panjāb derives from two Persian words "Panj" and 'Ab' meaning 'five' and 'water', respectively. Thus, etymologically, it means the Land of Five Waters (Rivers).[1] Ibn-Battuta, who entered India at the beginning of the year A.H. 734 (12th September, 1333 A.D.), writes: "We reached the valley of Sind known as the Panjāb, which means five waters."[2] Generally it was taken to be the tract lying between the rivers Indus and the Jamuna. The boundaries of the Panjāb have been shrinking and swelling from time to time over the last many centuries. In the Vedic period, the province was known as 'Sapt-Sindhu' as it included all the territory covered by the seven rivers, namely the Sindhu (Indus), the Vitasta (Jhelum), the Asuki (Chenab), the Parushni (Ravi), the Vipas (Beas), the Sutdra (Satlej), and the Saraswati.[3] After some time, when the Greeks occupied this province they called it Pentapotamia, 'Penta' from Greek 'Pente', meaning five and 'Potamas' meaning rivers.[4] In those days, there were thirty-seven flourishing cities and towns. A few centuries later, i.e., after the Greek occupation, the Panjāb was named as 'Taki'.[5] "The Kingdom, which Hwen Thsang calls Tse-kia or Taki, embraced the whole of the plains of the Panjāb from the Indus to the Beas, and from the foot of the mountains (Himalayas) to the junction of the five rivers (Panjnad), below Multan."[6] It was called Taki after a powerful tribe of that name which ruled here for a long time.

It seems quite certain that the name must have been derived from the tribe of Taks or Takkas, who were once the undisputed lords of the Panjāb, and who still survive as a numerous agricultural race in the lower hills between the rivers Jhelum and the Ravi. In the seventh century the kingdom of Taki was divided into three provinces, namely, Taki in the North and West, Shorkot in the East, and Multan in the South. According to Cunningham, "The province of Taki comprised the plains of the Panjāb, lying between the Indus and the Beas, to the north of Multan District, or the whole of the Chaj Doab, together with the upper portions of the three Doabs of Sind-Sagar, Rechna and Bari."[7]

During the Mughal period, this province was given the name of Suba-i-Lahore. Abul Fazl, the court historian of Akbar, describes its boundaries as : "It is situated in the third climate. Its length from the river Satlej to the river Sindhu is 180 *kos*. Its

breadth from Bhimbar to Chaukhandi,[8] one of the dependencies of Satgarh, is 86 *kos*. It is bounded on the East by Sirhind; on the North by Kashmir; on the South by Bikaner and Ajmer; and on the West by Multan. It has six principal rivers which all flow from the northern mountains."[9]

Manucci, who visited India in the reign of Aurangzeb, has described the Panjāb in these words: "It should be known that close to Bhakkar, seven rivers unite—five issuing from the kingdom of Lahore, which have their sources in the mountains of Srinagar and Kashmir, and reach the province of Lahore by five openings. This is why the kingdom of Lahore[10] is called the Panjāb, that is to say 'FIVE WATERS'."[11] Sujan Rai Bhandari (a resident of Batala, Gurdaspur District), the author of a celebrated contemporary work entitled Khulasa-ut-Tawarikh, describes the boundary of the Panjāb during Shah Jahan's reign as: "In its length the province extended from the river Satlej to the river Indus, a distance of 180 *kos*, and in its breadth extended from Bhimbar to Chaukhandi (Gujrat District) a distance of 86 *kos*."[12]

The Panjāb, under the British rule lay between 27° 39′ and 34° 2′N, and 69° 23′ and 79° 2′E. On the North the Himalayan ranges divided the province from Kashmir and the North-West Frontier Province. On the West the Indus formed its main boundary with the later province, except that the Panjāb included the strip of riverain area which formed the Isa Khel Tehsil of Mianwali District, west of that river. Its south-western extremity also lay west of the Indus and formed the large District of Dera Ghazi Khan, thereby extending its frontier to the Sulaiman range, which divided it from Baluchistan. On the extreme south-west the province adjoined Sind; and the Rajputana desert formed its southern border. On the East the Jamuna and its tributary Tons divided it from Uttar Pradesh, its frontier North of the sources of the latter's rivers being contiguous with Tibet.[13]

NATURAL DIVISIONS

The Panjāb is a triangular piece of land, lying between the Indus and the Jamuna. It was bounded on the North by the vast Himalayan ranges, on the West by the Sulaiman and Khirthār ranges, in the East by the river Jamuna, and in the South by the Sind and the Rajputana deserts. On the basis of the natural divisions, the Panjāb may be divided into the following regions: (*i*) Mountain; (*ii*) Submontane; and (*iii*) The Plains: (*a*) Ghaggar Plain; (*b*) Indo-Panjāb Plain—Eastern; (*c*) Indo-Panjāb Plain—Western; and (*d*) North-West Upland.

MOUNTAIN RANGES

This region is built up by the Himalayas[14] and the Sulaiman-Koh. The Himalayas run across the whole of northern India—from Assam in the East to Afghanistan in the West. They run in a south-east curve all along the northern front of India separating it from the plateau of Tibet and include several parallel ranges of lofty mountains, with deep valleys interspersed. They cover a region about 1,500 miles long and 150 to 200 miles in breadth. They served the purpose of a great wall of defence and protected the Panjāb from the cold bleak winds of the North. The mean summer temperature does not exceed 82°F.—cold in winter with heavy summer and winter precipitation. It has an elevation of twenty thousand feet. Tibet, which from the point of view of physical geography includes a large and little known area in Kashmir to the North of the Karakoram range, is a lofty, desolate, wind-swept plateau with a mean elevation of about fifteen thousand feet. In the part of it which is situated to the north of the north-west corner of Nepal lies the Mansarowar lake in the neighbourhood of which three great Indian rivers, the Brahmaputra, the Satlej and the Indus take their rise. This region always remains covered with snow.[15]

The Hindu-Koh mountains which run from the Pamirs in a south-westerly direction were regarded as the natural boundary of India in the north-west. Further south, Safed-Koh, Sulaiman and Khirthar mountains were generally regarded as the north-western boundary of India, separating it from the tableland of Iran.

SUBMONTANE

This region is the lesser Himalayas, with an elevation of six to seven thousand feet. It has a rainfall from thirty to forty inches, the greater part of which is received during the period of the summer monsoon. In their lowest ridges, the Himalayas drop to a height of about five thousand feet, but it is a zone where the hills are interspersed sometimes with valleys or dunes. These consist of Tertiary sandstones, clays, and boulder conglomerates, the debris, in fact, which the Himalayas have dropped in the course of age. To these hills and valleys the general name of Shivalik is given. This region is practically restricted to the Districts of Ambala, Hoshiarpur and Kangra, with the adjoining Himachal States. The 'Sal' tree, which is not found elsewhere to the west of the Jamuna, survives in a single Doon (strath) connected with the Kangra valley, but actually within the northern border of Hoshiarpur District. The Kiarda Doon in Sirmur and the Kalesar forest in Ambala shelter a number of species that are characteristic of and abundant in the Shivalik

tract east of the Jamuna. The low hills of Attock, Rawalpindi, Pabbi hills in Gujrat and Jhelum Districts belong to the same system, but the Salt range is only in part Shivalik. Altogether Shivalik deposits in the Panjāb cover an area of thirteen thousand square miles.[16]

The mountain ranges of the Himalayas are a great boon for the people of the province. These mountains formed an admirable defensive rampart of the Panjāb against foreign invasions by land. They present a formidable barrier to an army, though small bodies of traders and missionaries had been crossing over them through difficult routes. The mountains in the north-east have also served India well. They are so steep and so densely forest-covered that to cross them is a task of abnormal difficulty, and no considerable body of foreigners are known to have passed through this route to the interior of the country.

Mountains in the north-west, however, have not always been invulnerable. There are several passes across the Hindu-Koh and along almost all the chief rivers in this region, viz. the Sevat and the Chitral, running south, and the Kabul, the Kurram, the Tochi, and the Gomal, running east to the Indus. These passes have played an important part in Indian history. The melting snow from these mountains provide water to the rivers of the Panjāb, which benefit the plains in many ways. The monsoons strike against the mountains and give plenty of rainfall. These have been a vital source of the economic prosperity of the people since times immemorial and have also greatly added to the fertility and beauty of the Panjāb's landscape.

PLAINS

Ghaggar Plain. The eastern districts of the Ghaggar plain have a shorter and less severe cold weather than the western. The summer temperature ranges between 102° and 108°F. and gradually increases as one proceeds towards the west. The eastern half, being directly connected with the Gangetic basin, receives more rainfall than the western. The winter rains are scanty. This region covers the Districts of Ambala, Patiala, Karnal, Rohtak and Hissar, i.e. the commissionary of Ambala. The Ghaggar was once a river of much importance and a tributary of the Indus, which it joined below the junction of the five rivers of the Panjāb near Mithankot; the dry bed of its old course can still be traced far into Bahawalpur territory.[17] The Ghaggar plain was later included in the province of Delhi during the period under our study.

Indo-Panjab Plain — Eastern. This plain roughly formed the Suba of Lahore including some portions of the province of the North-West Frontier Province. It has a long, cold weather

season. Summer temperature ranges between 102° and 107°F. Summer rainfall varies from fifteen to twenty inches and the winter rainfall averages about three inches. This comprises the commissionaries of Lahore, Rawalpindi and Jullundur.[18]

Indo-Panjab Plain — Western. It formed the Suba of Multan, comprising the Districts of Montgomery, Lyallpur, Jhang, Multan, Muzzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan. This plain has a severe cold weather, with great diurnal range of temperature because of the predominance of sandy tracts. Summer temperature is the highest in the province and ranges between 105° and 110°F. It has a rainfall of five to fifteen inches. It is the driest part of India excepting the Thar Desert Zone. It is not much benefited by any of the monsoon currents. At Multan there are normally only fifteen rainy days in a year.

North-West Upland. This plain extends up to the Hindu-Koh, the outer frontier of India. It has a longer and a colder winter and spring. The summer temperature ranges between 100° and 105°F. The winter rains are heavier than in any other part of the plains, and last till April. The summer rains are late and diminish as one proceeds towards the west of the area. Average rainfall varies from thirteen to thirty inches.[19]

The Great Mughals had divided the plains of the Panjāb into Doabs, i.e. the tracts of land covered by two rivers. These were named: (*i*) The Sind-Sagar Doab — the area between the Jhelum and the Indus which was not so fertile as the others; (*ii*) the Jech or Chaj Doab — the area lying between the rivers Jhelum and Chenab which was more fertile than the Sind-Sagar Doab; (*iii*) the Rachna Doab — the rich fertile area between the Ravi and the Chenab; (*iv*) the Bari Doab — area between the Beas and the Ravi, the most important Doab comprising the rich alluvial plain; and (*v*) the Bist Jallandhar — the territory lying between the Beas and the Satlej and a very productive area.[20]

The plains of the Panjāb consisted of one vast alluvial plain, broken only by the wide and often shifting channels of its five rivers. The average height of this area is not more than one thousand feet above sea level. The fine but rigorous climate of the province has helped in breeding a hardy martial race capable of enduring the extremes of climate. The dry climate has given prominence to the question of water supply. The success or failure of a crop in the Panjāb depended on water supply. Thus naturally, prior to the introduction of the modern schemes of irrigation, the rivers played a very important part in the life of the people and were the deciding factor in the allocation of agricultural areas as well as the distribution of population. Indeed, agriculture has always been the mainstay of the inhabitants. The rivers of the Panjāb, carrying sediment from the hills, have formed alluvial deltas of considerable extent and high utility.

Their perennial supply of water is an inexhaustible source of irrigation. Their long lazy courses through broad valleys have not only made the lands fertile, but have provided good highways of communication. The scantiness of rainfall affected the agriculture of the areas away from the river-flooded areas, and hence such tracts were used for grazing.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PASSES AND TRADE ROUTES

The Panjāb may be roughly described as a triangular plain bounded by mountains on the west and north-east, and a desert on the south. To the north-east lie the Himalayas, the loftiest mountain chain in the world. The main line of the range, the Karakoram, lies far to the north-east, and the actual boundary of the Panjāb is a lower range, the Pir Panjal,[21] whose snowy crest is the most conspicuous feature in the winter. Between these two ranges lies the famous valley of Kashmir, north of the apex of the triangle of the Panjāb. The Karakoram range merges into the Hindu-Koh, which consists of a single broad ridge backed by no plateau, and notched by some relatively low passes.

The difficulties of access from Central Asia through the lowlands of Bactria and from the Oxus to the valley-head of Kabul lie rather in the approaches to the North-West Frontier passes than in the passes themselves. But the invaders have been surmounting these difficulties, and the Hindu-Koh, though the natural boundary of India north-westward, has been no effective barrier either in a military or commercial sense. The Hindu-Koh forms the north-eastern bastion of the great plateau of Iran, comprising the modern Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Iran, which flanks India to the north-west.

One route for the invaders from the north-west was from the Oxus valley over the Hindu-Koh to Kabul and thence down the Kabul valley to the Indus. Another led from the Caspian sea to Herat and thence straight through the mountains to Kabul, or by an easier detour skirting the Afghan high lands to Qandhar and thence through Ghazni to Kabul. Between it and the Indus lies the Sulaiman range, skirting the Panjāb and Sind, and forming the western frontier of India. These mountains are as lofty and imposing as the Pir Panjal, but these are not so continuous, and are traversed by several routes, which, though difficult, are quite practicable for large armies. "These are the outlets through Afghanistan by which Alexander the Great and all subsequent invaders have descended upon the low country of the Panjāb; and any one who, after traversing the interminable hill and stony valleys of Afghanistan, has seen, on surmounting the last ridge, the vast plain of India spreading out before him in the dusky haze like a sea, may imagine the feelings with which such a

prospect was surveyed by those adventurous leaders, when they first looked down upon it from the Asiatic high lands."[22]

Throughout the early Turkish period, the North-West Frontier of India remained very vulnerable, for the conquering hordes from Afghanistan were always tempted to cross the Indus and invariably threaten the Panjāb. In the north-west, as already mentioned, there are several passes across the Hindu-Koh and along almost all the chief rivers in the region namely, the Swat, the Chitral, the Kabul, the Kurram, the Tochi and the Gomal. Through these passes the invaders raided the Panjāb from time to time and established their kingdoms here. A brief detail of these passes is given below :

Khaibar Pass. This has been the most important pass, which begins near Jamrud, ten and a half miles west of Peshawar and twists through the hills for about thirty-three miles in a north-westerly direction till it debouches at Dakka. The Khaibar mountains actually form the last spurs of the Safed-Koh, as that mighty range sinks down into the valley of the Kabul river. This pass has always been the great northern route from Afghanistan into India and the most important points in this route are Ali Masjid (ten miles from Jamrud), Landi Kotal (the summit of the pass, ten miles farther), and Tor Kham.

The Mughal Emperors always attached great importance to this pass. Babar[23] raided the Panjāb, each time passing through it. Humayun too traversed this pass more than once. The Khaibar route leads directly across the plains of the Panjāb to the interior through the narrow gap between the desert and the mountains. Hence, this pass has been more frequently used by the foreign invaders of India, which explains the strategic position of Khaibar pass as the first line of defence, with the narrow plains to the west of the Jamuna, above Delhi, as the second.

Kurram River Pass. Next to Khaibar is the Kurram river pass which lies between Paiwar Kotal in the west and the borders of Miranzai in the east. Its maximum length from there to Paiwar Kotal is 72 miles as the crow flies, with its breadth varying from twelve to twenty-four miles. Bounded on the north by the Safed-Koh, which separates it from Ningarhar, it adjoins Para-Chamkani and the country of the Masozai on the east, its south-eastern corner abutting on the Miranzai country of Kohat District. From Khost Khoram, the highest peak of the Kurram river range, descends a spur through whose extremity the Kurram river appears to have cut a passage opposite Sadda, and which divides the valley into two parts, Upper and Lower Kurram. Rising in the hills near Ahmed Khel, it flows at first south-westward, and then turns sharply to the east entering the Agency of Kurram near Khar-Tachi and thence flowing due east to Kurram fort. East of that place its trend is somewhat southward, and

at Sadda it turns sharply to the south until it reaches Maro Khel, whence it curves south-east as far as Thal in Kohat District.

Humayun, who held Kabul in 1552, occupied Kurram before his conquest of India. Under Akbar it formed part of the Toman of Bangash or the Bangshat, being known as Upper Bangash to distinguish it from Lower Bangash, now Kohat District. The Afghans of this tract were the disciples of Pir-i-Roshan and hence became known as Roshanias. This sect led the Afghan opposition to Mughal rule and Kurram formed one of their chief strongholds. The line of advance into Afghanistan through the Kurram valley is easy, and Lord Roberts used it when he marched towards Kabul in 1898. The road to Kabul leaves the river far to the south before it crosses at Paiwar Kotal.[24]

Tochi Pass. Between the Kurram valley and the Gomal river is a large block of very rough mountainous country known as Wazirstan after the turbulent clan which occupies it. In the north it is drained by the Tochi. Westward of the Tochi valley the country rises into lofty mountains. The upper waters of the Tochi and its affluents drain two fine glens known as Birmal and Shawal to the west of the country of the Mahsud Wazirs. The Tochi valley is the direct route from India to Ghazni and about nine centuries ago, when that now decayed town was the capital of a powerful kingdom, it must have often heard the tramp of the armed men. The loftiest peaks of the Tochi valley, Waziristan, Shuidar and Pirghal, overhang Birmal. An alternative route from Kabul lies through Bannu and the Kurram valley to a point lower down the Indus where it joins by a route from Ghazni through the Tochi valley.[25]

Gomal Pass. East of Kajuri Kach the Gomal route passes through tribal territory from where it debouches into the plains of the District of Dera Ismail Khan. The Gomal route is the oldest of all the trade routes. Down it come every year a succession of caravans led and followed by thousands of well-armed Pathan traders. This route leads along the valley of the Gomal river, through southern Wazirstan, from Murtaza and Domandi, on the borders of Afghanistan and Baluchistan to the Afghan plateau. It is one of the oldest and most frequented trade routes between southern Afghanistan and the Indus valley.[26]

Bolan Pass. Far to the south lies this route from Qandhar through Quetta and the Bolan to Sukkar on the Indus. But here the invaders and the conquerors of the Lower Indus were blocked by the desert while striking eastwards for the great cities of the plains of the province.[27] This pa s was less important as a gateway of India than the others. For, just beyond the region where it debouches into the Panjāb plain, streches the desert of Rajasthan, which bans access to the interior of India. The Khaibar

route on the other hand, as stated above, leads directly across the plains of the Panjāb to the interior through the narrow gap between the desert and the mountains.

Mala Kand Pass. This pass crosses the range north of Peshawar, and leads from Sam Ranizai into the Swat valley. The pass is traversed by an ancient Buddhist road. Zain Khan Koka, a general of Akbar, built a fort there in 1587.[28]

Chitral Pass. Chitral is the Pathan country which ends at the Lowari pass. Beyond, right up to the main axis of the Hindu-Koh, is Chitral. It comprises the basin of the Yarkun or Chitral river from its distant source in the Shawar Shur glacier to Arnawai, where it receives from the west the waters of the Bashgul and is thenceforth known as the Kunar. Its western boundary is the Durand line, which follows a lofty chain sometimes called the Kafirstan range. Another great spur of the Hindu-Koh known as the Shandur range divides Chitral on the east from the basin of the Yasin river and the territories included in the Gilgit Agency.[29]

Tibet Passes. The trade with Tibet is carried over lofty passes. Among these are the following: (*i*) The Kangwa La (15,500 feet) on the India-Tibet Road, through Simla; (*ii*) The Mana (18,000 feet); (*iii*) The Niti (16,570 feet); (*iv*) The Balcha Dhura in Garhwal; (*v*) The Anta Dhura (17,270 feet); and (*vi*) The Lampuja Dhura (18,000 feet). These were the main passes of the Tibet side which were commonly used as trade routes. No invader ever came through these passes till the recent Chinese attempt to penetrate into India through these passes. Lieut. Col. Godwin Austin has given an admirable summary of the topography of the Himalayas.[30]

Kashmir and Central Asian Passes. These smaller trade routes which pass through Kashmir are among the Central Asian trade routes over the western Himalayas. Bara Lacha, the mountain pass through the Lahul canton of the Kulu sub-division of Kangra District, is a trade route from Darcha in Lahul to the Rupshu country in Ladakh. Rohtang Pass, in the Kulu sub-division of Kangra District, is across the Himalayan range which divides the Kulu valley from Lahul. This pass leads from Koksar in Lahul to Rolla in Kothi Manali of Kulu. The high road to Leh and Yarkand from Kulu and Kangra goes over this pass, which can be traversed by laden mules and ponies.[31]

The effects of physical features of the Panjāb have exercised a great influence on its history. Placed as it is by nature in a locality which gives it a crowning position, it serves as the gateway to India and every invader from the north has, by its possession, sought the road to empire. In pre-historic times, it was presumably the Panjāb that was first invaded by the Aryans from beyond the snowy ranges of the stupendous Himalayas.[32] Thus,

on account of its geographical position, the Panjāb has played the role of a gateway of India, because it was through these passes that the invaders entered India.[33]

The rivers of the Panjāb have also played an important part in the history of India. These rivers served as boundaries of Doabs, during the period under our study. During the rainy season, these served as a bulwark against invaders because they could not be crossed. It was the main reason why Babar had to follow a more northerly route to Delhi, just below the Shivalik hills, where the rivers were narrow and the work of the bridge-building easier.[34] It was also due to the geographical factor that almost all the decisive battles for the conquest of Delhi were fought in the plains of the Panjāb. No effort was spared to check the invasions from the north-west by the rulers and the people of the Panjāb. But whenever they failed against heavy odds, the invaders were always given a tough fight by the rulers of Delhi in the battle-fields of Lahore, Jullundur, Mallot, Machhiwara, Ambala, Sirhind, Tarain, Kurukshetra and Panipat.

The fertility of the Panjāb plains has always attracted the nomad invaders from the north. The Panjāb being the gateway of India, had to bear the full brunt of their incursions and yet the brave people of the Panjāb managed to absorb the shocks administered by these repeated onslaughts by the invaders, who were, in due course of time, made a part and parcel of the indigenous social organisation. It is this fact that has given the Panjāb an importance in Indian history which is out of all proportion to its size. It has been a crucible in which various racial strains, political systems and religious beliefs have mixed and melted and crystallised into new amalgams.

THE PRELUDE

The Panjāb has truly been the cradle of a number of dynasties. Since the pre-historic period, battles and skirmishes had been bequeathed by one generation to the other and the life of the peasantry was always unsafe and unsettled; the fortunes of businessmen were never too bright; laxity in morals resulted in unending court intrigues and lust for gold. And when the Panjāb was fermenting in social stagnation and moral depravity, a sure ground for the resurgence of the Bhakti cult or a full scale war, saints arose to resurrect the soul or warriors arose to cleanse the Augean stables.

In the first two decades of the sixteenth century, a great revolution took place in the history of India, which made the Panjāb the potential arena of political struggle for the succeeding two hundred years. This historic and absorbing drama of fluctua-

ting fortunes began with the triangular conflict between Ibrahim Lodi, his uncle Alam Khan and Daulat Khan Lodi, the then governor of the Panjāb, as its leading characters. All of them were conspiring, each in his own way, to capture political power. Ibrahim Lodi, anxious to enjoy political supremacy when he succeeded to the throne of Delhi after the death of his father Sikandar Lodi in 1517, began to harass and crush all the Afghan chiefs and former supporters of the Lodi dynasty who by strength of their high offices, had gained considerable influence and position. Alam Khan, who had looked forward to the death of his brother Sikandar Lodi, had a high ambition to become the Emperor of India. But Ibrahim Lodi, having sensed the sinister designs of his uncle, Alam Khan, was desperately after his life. At the same time, he was keen to dislodge Daulat Khan, the governor of the Panjāb, whose territory extended from Attock to Sirhind. Ibrahim wanted to entrust the governorship of this frontier province of India to one of his own men.

The Panjāb has ever been the sword arm of India and has also been the main channel through which fine and daring soldiery, recruited from beyond its frontiers, flowed into India. Without a complete domination over this region, no emperor could ever feel secure on the throne. The court intrigues at Lahore and Multan had their repercussions on the people in general. They had no pole-star to fix their loyalties, unless they chose to be stoically indifferent to personalities, pleasure or pain. A full account of this fateful drama played in the "Land of the Five Rivers" is given in detail in the following pages.

NOTES

1. *The Empire of the Great Mughal* — De Laet (Hoyland), p. 10.
2. *The Rehla of Ibn-Battuta* — Mahdi Husain, pp. 1, 2, 5.
3. It rises in Nahan, close to the borders of Ambala District.
4. The Greeks name these rivers as Hydaspes (Jhelum), Akesines (Chenab). Hydrotes (Ravi), Hyphasis (Beas), and Zaradvos (Satlej),
5. *On Yuan Chowang's Travels in India*, Vol. II — Thomas Waters, p. 255.
6. *The Ancient Geography of India* — Cunningham. p. 170.
7. *The Ancient Geography of India* — Cunningham, p. 176,
   India and Pakistan — O. H. K. Spate, p. 463.
8. Chaukandi is situated in the Gujrat District.
9. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarrett-Sarkar (1949), p. 135.
10. The great city of Lahore, which has been the capital of the Panjab for nearly nine hundred years, is said to have been founded by Lava, the son of Rama, after whom it was named Lahawar. Under this form it is mentioned by Abu Rihan, but the present form of the name Lahore, which was soon adopted by the Muslims, has now become universal.
11. *Storia-do-Mogar*, Vol. II — Manucci (Irvine), p. 322.
12. *India of Aurangzeb* — J. N. Sarkar, p, LXII.
13. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 32.
    The Panjab, N.W.F.P. and Kashmir — Douie, pp. 3-6,
    Jangnama-Qazi — Nur-ud-din p.158

14. *Himalayas* — The abode of snow.
15. *India and Pakistan* — O. H. K. Spate, pp. 463-67.
16. *The Gates of India* — Thomas Holdich, pp. 80-91, 135, 136, 243, 244.
The Panjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt — M. L. Darling, p. 23.
Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, pp. 27-34.
17. *The Panjab, N.W.F.P. and Kashmir* — Douie, pp. 46, 47, 227-34.
The Land of the Five Rivers — Trevaskis, p. 10.
18. (*i*) Lahore: Lahore, Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Gujranwala and Shaikhupura Districts.
(*ii*) Rawalpindi: Rawalpindi, Shahpur, Jhelum, Gujrat, Attock and Mianwali Districts.
(*iii*) Jullundur: Jullundur, Kangra, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana and Ferozepur Districts, and the other plain and Hill states.
19. *India and Pakistan* — O. H. K. Spate, pp. 463-65.
20. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarrett-Sarkar, pp. 320-36.
The India of Aurangzeb — J. N. Sarkar, pp. 82-102.
21. *The Vedic Age* — The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, p. 114.
The Land of the Five Rivers — Trevaskis, pp. 5, 242.
22. *The Rise of the British Dominion in India* — Lyall, p. VIII.
23. *Baburnama* — Beveridge, pp. 206, 250, 260, 411-13, 492.
24. *The Panjab, N.W.F.P. and Kashmir* — Douie, pp. 24, 295, 296.
Imperial Gazetteer of India : N.W.F.P. (1908), pp. 336-39.
The Vedic Age — The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, pp. 92, 242, 243.
25. *Imperial Gazetteer of India : N.W.F.P.* (1908), pp. 119, 246, 247.
The Land of the Five Rivers — Trevaskis, p. 7.
26. *Sher Shah* — Qanungo (1921), p. 2.
27. *Gates of India* — Thomas Holdich, pp. 143, 144.
28. *The Panjab, N.W.F.P. and Kashmir* — Douie, p. 305.
Imperial Gazetteer — Provincial Series: N.W.F.P., p. 221.
29. *Ibid.* pp. 210-12.
30. *Gazetteer of the Himalayan Districts in the N.W.* (*United*) *Provinces* — F. F. Atkins, pp. 13-23.
Narrative of a Journey to Mansarowar — Geographical Journal, Vol. XV.
31. *Imperial Gazetteer of India: Panjab*, 54 Vol. I, pp. 383, 384, 391, 392.
32. *History of the Panjab* — Mohd Latif, Preface.
33. *Studies in the Later Mughal History of Panjab* — H. R. Gupta, p. 7.
34. *The Gates of India* — Thomas Holdich, pp. 80, 81. 135, 136, 143, 144.

CHAPTER II

PANJAB UNDER BABAR — 1526-1530

In 1523, the Afghan nobles at Lahore decided upon sending Alam Khan Lodi and Dilawar Khan, son of Daulat Khan, to persuade Babar to help them in removing Ibrahim Lodi and placing his uncle Alam Khan, on the throne.[1] The reasons given for such a course of action were, firstly, that Ibrahim was an incorrigible tyrant of whom the Afghan nobility was thoroughly tired, and, secondly, that Alam Khan would be friendly and highly deferential in his attitude towards Babar. With a view to absolving themselves of the charge of treachery, they gave a highly exaggerated account of Ibrahim's evil doings, foolishness, haughtiness and greediness, and painted him in the blackest colour. They promised that they would remain loyal to Babar and act under his command.

The line of action taken by the nobles of Lahore was intended to divert the attention of Babar from Dilawar Khan and his officers towards Ibrahim Lodi and, without making any positive commitments, show their anxiety to co-operate with him in deposing the Sultan. Such a proposal had latitude enough to lend itself to different interpretations. If Dilawar Khan was cunning enough to keep it vague, Babar was equally clever in not demanding clear elucidation or precise detail. Babar, however, was convinced that there was no solidarity among the Afghans and the opportunity was favourable for an adventurous drive. So far Babar had been thinking of only those districts of the western Panjāb which once formed a part of the kingdom of Kabul. Now his vision seems to have extended to include the whole of the Panjāb, if not the entire Lodi Empire. If the plan worked well he could revive the achievements of Taimur in India, which would be an adequate compensation for his failure in Central Asia.

Whether Ibrahim Lodi did or did not know the details of the negotiations between Daulat Khan and Alam Khan Lodi on the one hand and Babar on the other, he must have got an inkling of these negotiations. He, therefore, decided to send an army under Biban Khan and Mubarak Khan to capture Lahore. Daulat Khan Lodi had evacuated the town and gone to Multan probably to wait there till the arrival of Babar. The army of occupation was not strong enough, nor its position so consolidated as to offer a successful resistance. It was easily defeated by Babar, who captured, sacked and burnt Lahore. To take full advantage of the initial and easy success, Babar pushed on to Dipalpur and captured it in 1524.[2] Here Daulat Khan came

to pay him tribute. Babar was pleased to appoint him as the governor of Jullundur, Sultanpur and a few other districts.[3] This was not what Daulat had bargained for. He declined to accept the offer. The loss of prestige along with the governorship of Lahore came to him as a rude shock which opened his eyes.[4]

Daulat Khan's hostility was dangerous for Babar's eastward advance. Therefore, he abandoned the idea of conquering India at this stage, especially when he got the intelligence that disorder was prevailing in his own country on account of his absence. As such, instead of advancing upon Delhi he garrisoned the Panjāb with his own loyal troops. Babar deemed it fit to advance on Ismael Jilwani, the Afghan Chief of Thiara, who was close to the left bank of the Satlej between Ludhiana and Ferozepur, as he was said to be intending to harrass Babar. Even as Babar was being persuaded to attack Ismael Jilwani, he was informed in time by Dilawar Khan, son of Daulat Khan, that his father was pursuading him to attack the Afghan Chief of Thiara only to lead him to disaster. Babar abandoned the idea. He threw Daulat Khan and his other son Ghazi Khan into prison,[5] but they were later on released before he left for Kabul. Babar took all possible measures for the safety of the Panjāb prior to his return to Kabul. He honoured Dilawar Khan for the services rendered against his own father. The District of Sultanpur, which Daulat Khan had spurned being dissatisfied with Babar's reward was bestowed on the son. He was also honoured with the high title of Khan-i-Khanan.[6]

Babar was now practically the master of the Panjāb up to Sirhind, excluding the province of Multan. As he had to go back to Kabul, he entrusted his newly-acquired territories[7] to some of his most trusted officers. Mir Abdul Aziz was appointed the governor of Dipalpur and Muhammad Ali Tajak was assigned the governorship of Kalanaur, under the supervision of Alam Khan Lodi. Multan, however, still belonged to the Baloch tribe of Langah.[8]

Babar had hardly crossed the Indus on his way back, when Daulat Khan and his son Ghazi Khan revolted. They imprisoned Dilawar Khan and kept him under close custody and, increasing their forces rapidly, defeated Alam Khan Lodi, the governor of Dipalpur. Alam Khan Lodi escaped and fled to Kabul. Daulat Khan then attacked Sialkot with five thousand Afghans but suffered a crushing defeat.[9]

Taking advantage of the confusion in the Panjāb, Ibrahim sent an army against Daulat Khan to bring him to his knees, but so successful were the intrigues of Daulat Khan in the imperial camp, that he contrived to win over the General of Ibrahim's army, with the result that his army was completely broken up[10] at Bajwara (Hoshiarpur) and the Sultan had to eat humble pie.

When the news of these developments reached Babar he decided finally to embark on a full-fledged expedition to India. Freed from the Uzbeg menace, Babar set out towards the Panjāb in November, 1525, and was joined, on the way, by Humayun with his troops from Badakhshan. Babar crossed the Indus on December 16, 1525,[11] and began to advance to Sialkot by the hill route. He marched in five stages from the Indus, the sixth bringing him close by the hill of Jud,[12] below the hill of Balnath Jogi,[13] on the banks of the river Harur, at the station of Bakial. After crossing the Jhelum he was joined by some officers from his Lahore army. He reached the bank of the Chenab and rode on to Bahlolpur.[14] Next morning he halted at Pasrur,[15] where Mahammad Ali Jang Jang and Khawaja Hussain waited on him.[16]

Leaving Shah Mir Hassan and some officers to guard Lahore, Babar moved ahead with his troops with all possible speed and reached Kalanaur, 17 miles west of Gurdaspur. He was anxious to overtake Daulat Khan Lodi and Ghazi Khan, who were now seized with panic and had shut themselves up in the fort of Mallot near Hariana in Hoshiarpur District. He ordered Muhammad Ahmedi and Kutlaq Qadam to pursue them and they were strictly instructed to intercept every move into and out of the fort of Mallot,[17] so that the garrison might not be able to escape.[18]

Babar crossed the river Beas opposite Kahnuwan, and encamped at the mouth of the valley of the Shivalik hills, in which lies the fort of Mallot. The fort, which surrendered after a tough fight, was searched by Babar personally. He examined Ghazi Khan's library, and found in it a number of valuable books. Some of these were given to Humayun and some were sent to Kamran at Kabul.[19] Daulat Khan, Ali Khan, Ismail Khan and some other leading men were handed over as prisoners to Kita Beg,[20] who set out with the prisoners for the fort of Mallot, situated in the District of Jhelum. Daulat Khan died on the way at Sultanpur. Babar gave the fort with 200 to 250 troops to Muhammad Ali Jang Jang, who put his elder brother, Arghun, in charge of the place, while he himself departed with a body of the main troops.[21]

Babar continued his advance on Delhi via Dun and reached Rupar. It was here that Babar had to descend from the hilly route.[22] His army moved through Kurali[23] to Sirhind, and halted at Banur,[24] where he was informed that Sultan Ibrahim Lodi was marching towards Panipat. He also learnt here that Hamid Khan, the Shiqdar of Hissar-i-Feroza, had also advanced against Babar at the behest of the Sultan. Babar sent Kita Beg towards Ibrahim's camp to procure intelligence and directed Atka against the army of Hissar-i-Feroza, to find out the movements of Hamid Khan.

From Banur, Babar reached Ambala and despatched Humayun with all the forces under him to reinforce Atka. Hamid Khan was defeated. Humayun's troops entered Hissar-i-Feroza and sacked it. The town was bestowed upon Humayun as a reward for the brilliant success he had achieved in dispersing one section of the enemy's army.[25]

FIRST BATTLE OF PANIPAT — 1526

On three occasions the fate of Hindustan has been decided on the historic plain of Panipat. Owing to its strategic location, on the high-roads from Sirhind and Ferozepur to Delhi, Panipat has been the scene of some of the most historic battles in Indian history. In fact, this entire tract, embracing Panipat, Kurukshetra and Taraori (Train), has been the cockpit of Indian history. For, with a high mountain range on one hand, and the vast stretches of the desert on the other, neither too far away, it forms, as it were, a bottleneck through which lies the access to the immense riches of the Gangetic plain, the culminating point of every invader's ambition. The area itself is so close to Delhi that, so long as the empire which centred in that city existed as more than a mere phantom, the political fortunes of the one were almost inseparable from the other. Astride the successful invader's highway to the throne of Hindustan at Delhi, Panipat thus inevitably formed an important link in the chain of the marching hordes' communications with their homeland.[26] "From the strategic background of Afghanistan the path for invaders lay along the lines of least resistance, the Khaiber, Kurram, Tochi and Gomal passes on the Panjāb plains, for the Indus has never proved an obstacle to an enterprising general. Checked on the south by the deserts of Rajputana, invading armies were forced to enter the Ganga and the Jamuna valleys through the narrow bottleneck between the north-eastern extremity of the desert and the foot of the Himalayas."[27]

Babar's advance towards Delhi was welcomed by the discontented elements in the country. Hearing the news of Babar's approach, Sultan Ibrahim sent two advance parties to deal with him, but both of these were defeated and Babar advanced unopposed as far as Sarsawah.[28] Babar reached Panipat[29] with his army by two marches on April 12, 1526.[30] Sultan Ibrahim had also reached Panipat with an army of one hundred thousand besides one thousand elephants.[31] But, considering the fact that there used to be in those days a number of camp-followers and servants for every fighting man, the effective fighting strength of Ibrahim's army could not have been more than forty thousand. This army of all descriptions, which had been hastily raised on

the spur of the moment, was divided into four traditional divisions — the advance guard, the centre, the right and the left wings. The armies confronted each other. During the night of April 20, Babar sent out four to five thousand men to make a night attack, which failed. He advanced next morning. Ibrahim ordered his army to march forward at a quick pace, but it had to stop suddenly when it came up against Babar's strong defences. "They could not halt, and they were unable to advance with the same speed as before. I sent orders to the troops stationed as flankers on the extremes of the right and left divisions, to wheel round the enemy's flank with all possible speed, and instantly to attack them in the rear and attack them with showers of arrows and press them vigorously."[32] This caused some confusion among Ibrahim's troops. Taking advantage of it, Babar immediately ordered his Taulghamas[33] to wheel round and attack the enemy in the rear. Ibrahim now ordered an attack on Babar's left wing and found himself in difficulty. Babar quickly reinforced the centre, which succeeded in repelling the Afghan's right wing. Now Babar ordered his gunners to open fire. Thus, the Afghans, who were surrounded and overwhelmed, found themselves exposed to artillery fire in front and arrows on either flank. The battle lasted from morning till noon.[34] The superior strategy and generalship of Babar put the Afghans on the run. Ibrahim was killed fighting heroically and fifteen to sixteen thousand of his men lay slain on the field.[35] His dead body was discovered amidst a heap of corpses. His head was brought before Babar, along with a large number of prisoners and spoils of all kinds.

The success of Babar was due to astute generalship and the strategic deployment of the cavalry and the artillery. The battle of Panipat brought Babar to the end of the final stage of his Indian conquest. He sealed the fate of the Lodi dynasty as effectively as his ancestor Taimur had done that of the Tughlaqs, and told seriously on the morale and already disintegrating organization of the Afghans. The soldiers and the peasantry alike fled in fear of the conqueror; gates of every fortified town were closed and people busied themselves in organizing defence everywhere. Guru Nanak, who was a contemporary of Babar, gives the true picture of that age: "The kings are butchers, cruelty their knife; sense of duty has taken wings an vanished.[36]

On the very day of the battle, Babar pushed forward two detachments — one to Delhi and the other to Agra — to prevent lawlessness and plunder and to take possession of the public treasuries in those cities. He himself followed and reached Delhi on the third day after the battle. He moved swiftly to Agra[37] after sealing up all the treasuries at Delhi.

MIR YUNIS ALI — 1527-1530

After the first battle of Panipat, Babar could not pay his full attention to the affairs of the Panjāb, as anarchy was prevalent everywhere beyond Delhi and Agra. The frontier provinces of Kabul and Qandhar were already given to Mirza Kamran. In 1527, Babar appointed Mir Yunis Ali, who had accompanied him in all his Indian campaigns, as the governor of the Panjāb. Mir Yunis Ali was devoted to Babar and was one of the most trusted, daring and experienced generals, who had fought with great intrepidity in the battle of Panipat.[38] Even before this, when the rebellious Afghans, under the command of Hamid Khan of Hissar-i-Feroza, clashed with Humayun, Mir Yunis Ali was one of those who fought bravely and had defeated the Afghans. Being a great general and capable administrator, he succeeded in keeping the Panjāb under complete control when Babar was heavily engaged in the conquest of the unsubdued provinces of northern India. He was thus destined to play a dominant role during that formative period of the Mughal suzerainty.[39]

At the representation of the Qazi of Samana, Mir Yunis Ali was informed of the depredations wrought by Mohan Mandahar, a Hindu chief near Kaithal. He instantly issued instructions to Ali Quli Khan Hamadani to take three thousand horsemen and crush the evil doers. Due to the intensity of the cold, the royal archers were unable to pull their bows and thus could not withstand the onslaught of the rural folk of Mohan Mandahar, who had been warming themselves beside the village fire. Mir Yunis Ali deputed Tarsm Bahadur and Narang Beg to reinforce Ali Quli Khan and to attack the Mandahars, who were resting on their oars and making merry. The Mandahars suffered a crushing defeat. A tower was erected of the skulls of those who were killed in the encounter. To this day the village, which is in Kaithal Tehsil of Karnal District, remains deserted. The punishment meted out to the inhabitants of the village struck terror into the minds of the people of the entire area.

NOTES

1. *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II — King, p. 151.
2. *Baburnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 486.
3. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. II, Briggs, p. 38.
4. *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II — King, p. 151.
5. *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II — King, p. 152.
6. *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II — King, p. 152.
7. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. II — Briggs, pp. 37, 38.
8. *Baburnama*, Vol. I — Beveridge, p. 442.
   Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II — King, p. 152.
9. *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II — King, p. 166.
   Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II — Briggs, p. 40.

10. *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II — King, p. 153.
Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II — Briggs, p. 41.
11. *Baburnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 445.
12. *Baburnama*, Vol. I — Beveridge, p. 379.
Memoirs of Babur, Vol. II — King, p. 163.
13. Tilla Gorakhnath is a monastry of the Jogis, situated on an isolated peak of the Tilla Dariga.
14. Bahlolpur stood on a ravine on the banks of the Chenab.
15. Pasrur is the Tehsil headquarters of the same name, about 20 miles south of Sialkot.
16. *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II — King, p. 168.
Baburnama, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 453.
17. The fort of Mallot, founded in the reign of Sultan Bahlol Lodi, was Daulat Khan's stronghold, situated at the foot of the Shivalik hills, about five miles from Hariana to the east, in Hoshiarpur District.
18. *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II — King, p. 169.
19. *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II — King, p. 169.
Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II — Briggs, p. 42.
20. This is the Mallot of Jhelum District, 16 miles north-west of Pind Dadan Khan.
21. *Baburnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, pp. 459-61.
Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II — Briggs, p. 42.
Memoirs of Babur, Vol. I — King, p. 169.
22. *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II — King, pp. 173, 174.
23. Twelve miles south-east of Rupar.
24. Nine miles in the east of Rajpura in Patiala District. Its ancient name was Pushpawati.
25. *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II — King, pp. 178, 179.
Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II — Briggs, p. 43.
26. *Imperial Gazetteer of India — Provincial Series*, Vol. I, pp. 316, 317.
Karnal District Gazetteer, pp. 25-28.
27. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. III (1936), p. 1025.
28. *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II — King, p. 180 (Sarsawah is a small town in the District of Saharanpur).
29. *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II — King, p. 181.
30. *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II — King, p. 186.
Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II — Briggs, pp. 44, 45.
31. *Baburnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 463.
32. *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II — King, p. 186.
Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II — Briggs, pp. 44, 45.
33. Taulghama or Taulqama is a Chaghtai word used to denote the troops posted in ambush to turn the enemy, or the action of turning the flank of the enemy. It was a manoeuvre executed by Babar (*Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. I — King, p. 194).
34. *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II — King, p. 187.
35. *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II — King, p. 187.
36. *Var Majh, Mahala* I, Shalok 17 (I).
The Sikh Religion, Vol. I — Macauliffe, p. 170.
37. *History of India*, Vol. I — Erskine, p. 437.
Baburnama, Vol. I — Beveridge, pp. 278, 398.
Baburnama, Vol. II — Beveridge, pp. 472, 473, 543-46, 565, 569.
38. *Memoirs of Babur*, Vol. II — King, p. 185.
39. *Humayun Badshah* — S. K. Banerji, pp. 53-56.
History of India, Vol. II — Erskine, pp. 7-9.

CHAPTER III

PUNJAB UNDER HUMAYUN AND THE SURS — 1530-1556

Babar did not live long to consolidate what he had conquered and Humayun was not strong and sagacious enough to be able to accomplish the task left unfinished by his father. The political condition of India became more chaotic after Babar's death as Mirza Kamran, who was already in possession of Kabul and Qandhar, wanted to possess the Panjāb and even the territories beyond. Humayun also did not attach any importance to this frontier province and, instead of reinforcing Mir Yunis Ali, the governor of Lahore, he diverted his attention towards the expedition of Kalinjar, and the Panjāb was left without sufficient military forces.[1]

MIRZA KAMRAN — 1530-1540

When Humayun was busy in quelling the disorder in the east, the Mirza crossed the Indus leaving the charge of Afghanistan to his younger brother Askari. After capturing a greater part of the West Panjāb, Kamran drew nearer Lahore. Here he found Mir Yunis Ali, who would not submit to him without giving a tough fight.[2] Therefore, instead of attempting to take Lahore by military operations, Kamran resorted to diplomacy. One night he publicly abused Qarcha Beg, one of his trusted Amirs, and made him to flee to Mir Yunis Ali with all his followers to seek refuge in Lahore, with a view to planting him in the enemy camp. The trick worked. Qarcha Beg was cordially received by Mir Yunis Ali, and one night Qarcha Beg seized an opportunity and took the governor perfidiously into his custody. Hearing of this, Mirza Kamran, who was anxiously awaiting developments, hastened to Lahore with a strong force and occupied it without any resistance. Mirza Kamran released Mir Yunis Ali from custody and offered him the governorship under him, but the latter declined the offer and, instead, wanted to join Humayun in Delhi. Kamran took possession of all the neighbouring districts of Lahore and, very soon, the whole of the Panjāb extending upto the Satlej was brought under his sway.[3]

After this episode, Mirza Kamran assiduously courted Humayun to confirm him in this province. Humayun not only confirmed him in the governorship, but also generously gave him Hissar-i-Feroza and the province of Multan.[4]

The cession of the Panjāb in general, and of Hissar-i-Feroza in particular, is regarded as a blunder of the first magnitude on the part of Humayun. Mirza Kamran not only deprived him of a

most productive province, but also created a barrier between him and the Mughal military base in the north-west, so rich in martial resources. Mirza Kamran held command of the important military road running from Delhi to Qandhar, which made it possible for him to sap the main source of Humayun's military power, the strength and efficiency of which was absolutely necessary for the safety of the then infant Mughal dominion in India.

A majority of scholars have nothing but praise for the generosity and clemency of Humayun in allowing Kamran to continue to occupy the Panjāb and add to it Multan and Hissar-i-Feroza. But actually, according to ancient Turko-Mughal custom, the Indian Mughal Empire had to be divided among the sons of Babar. It was, therefore, perhaps not so much an act of generosity or of obedience to the wishes of his dead father, as one of sheer necessity and expedience. There was no other way out for Humayun. It was in his own interest[5] to win the goodwill of his brothers and, with them, to make a united effort to save the empire. It would, perhaps, have been wiser for Humayun to have settled the share of his brothers much earlier, particularly of Kamran. After coming to the throne, he remained undecided in his mind for quite some time. There was no other course open to him now. He made the best of a bad bargain and tried to earn the gratitude of his brothers.

Thereafter the Panjāb remained in the undisturbed possession of Mirza Kamran, but his authority was challenged in 1536 by Muhammad Zaman Mirza,[6] the rebel Mughal governor of Gujrat, when the former was away from the Panjāb to quell the rebellion of Sam Mirza of Iran.[7] Taking advantage of the absence of Mirza Kamran, Zaman Mirza marched upon Lahore with a view to occupy it. On reaching Lahore, however, he did not immediately resort to fighting. Instead, he opened negotiations with the Faujdar of Lahore for its surrender. Failing to secure his object he laid siege to the city. Mirza Kamran hurriedly returned to Lahore. On hearing the news of Mirza Kamran's return, Muhammad Zaman Mirza abandoned the siege and fled to Delhi.[8] After this, the Panjāb remained undisturbed under Mirza Kamran, until 1540, when he was dislodged by Sher Shah. Kamran's greatest contribution to the Mughal empire was that he maintained the integrity of the Panjāb for a whole decade. He defeated the Persians twice and did not allow Shah Tahmasp to occupy Qandhar.[9]

HUMAYUN'S FLIGHT

After his retreat from Kanauj, Humayun arrived at Delhi on May 25, 1540,[10] but could not stay there long because he was being hotly pursued by Sher Shah. Only ten days after

the decisive battle of Kanauj, he left Delhi and retreated to the Panjāb. After reaching Lahore, Humayun discussed, with his brothers, ways and means to deal with the Afghan menace. He wanted them to pool all the available resources and make a determined effort to recover the lost empire.[11] Kamran was anxious to save the Panjāb from going out of his hands. Since the military resources of the Mughals at this time were limited, Humayun had to resort to negotiations with Sher Shah. The difference between Humayun and Kamran was on one point only. Should the Emperor conduct negotiations on behalf of all, in his capacity of the sovereign, or should Kamran do it as the *de facto* master of the Panjāb?

Finally, Humayun sent an envoy to Sher Shah with a proposal to treat Sirhind as the boundary between the Afghan and the Mughal kingdoms. Humayun got three months' respite at Lahore, but could not reunite the Mughals even in the face of such a great calamity.[12]

Sher Shah was shrewd enough to realize that the Mughals were in no position to fight, and that a settlement of that nature could not last long as there was no good natural boundary in the Panjāb to separate the two kingdoms. He also concluded that the Mughal Princes were either disunited or were trying to outwit him. He therefore offered a straight and the only feasible proposal, that he would sheathe his sword should the Mughals agree to recognize the Indus as a boundary line between the two kingdoms. Meanwhile Sher Shah had advanced with his forces to the banks of the Beas near Sultanpur.[13] Muzaffar Beg, one of the generals of Humayun, who had been left behind in his retreat, arrived at Lahore and gave information to Humayun that Sher Shah had forced a crossing of the Beas and secured a position on its right bank, in spite of all the opposition which he was able to offer. He further said that Sher Shah was bringing the rest of his troops across the river and might soon be expected to reach the outskirts of Lahore.[14]

On hearing this, Humayun and his brothers instantly abandoned Lahore in October, 1540,[15] crossed the Ravi and hastened towards the Chenab. Kamran with his followers and property ferried across in boats.[16]

SHER SHAH SUR — 1540-1545

Sher Shah chased the fleeing brothers and, on reaching the Chenab, he sent one party[17] to pursue Humayun, who had taken the Multan road, and another to follow Kamran, whilst he himself proceeded to Bhera. Sher Shah halted at the Chenab for some time in order to secure reinforcements for the troops he

had sent out to take possession of the different parts of the Panjāb.[18]

Just after driving out the Mughals from the Panjāb, Sher Shah stayed at Khushab for sometime to reorganize the administration of the conquered territories in the Panjāb. He took stringent measures to make this province administratively strong. He wrought many reforms for the betterment of its people. The land was measured for the purpose of accurate assessment. Justice of a rough and ready kind was administered under his strict orders and the responsibility of village communities for crimes committed within their borders was enforced with severe penalties. No man could expect favour by reason of his rank or position and no injury to cultivation was tolerated. He laid out roads, planted trees and provided wells and Sarais for use by the travellers.[19]

THE GAKHARS

The Gakhars inhabited the mountainous tract between the upper courses of the rivers Indus and Jhelum — bounded on the west by the Indus from Kalabagh to Attock, on the north by Hazara District and the Shivalik mountains, on the east by the Jhelum river down to the town of Khushab, comprising the present Districts of Rawalpindi and the Jhelum. This tract was never fully conquered by any former emperor of northern India. But mastery over no other region has proved so essential to the safety of Panjāb as over this. It possesses great strategic importance. An invader from the north-west could appear suddenly in the very heart of the Panjāb by marching stealthily through this region from Attock to Rohtas. Indeed, beginning with Alexander the Great, many mighty conquerors entered the Panjāb through this route and swept away dynasty after dynasty from the throne of Delhi.[20]

At this time Mirza Kamran, whom Sher Shah had deprived of the Panjāb, was in Kabul with his strength enhanced by the adherence of Humayun, while Haider Mirza was engaged in the conquest of Kashmir. They might at any time join hands and attempt at recovering the Panjāb and, ultimately, the throne of Delhi. For such a combination, this tract of the country, occupied by a warlike independent tribe, was the most advantageous for the Mughals. Kamran could advance through Attock[21] and Mirza Haider could descend from the mountains of Kashmir through the Baramula pass and, marching through Rawalpindi, effect a junction with Mirza Kamran. Thus the conquest of this region became an urgent military necessity to Sher Shah. Whilst encamped at Khushab[22] and Bhera, Sher Shah invited Sultan Sarang and Sultan Adam, the chiefs of the Gakhar tribes,

to submit to his authority. The Gakhar chiefs who had long been on friendly terms with Babar and his family, declined the invitation. In response, they sent a lion cub and a bow with an arrow, which meant that they were the lions and the masters of arms. Sher Shah was very much annoyed on receiving this reply and said that he would give them such a blow with a dagger which would for ever remain in their hearts.[23]

Sher Shah then marched upon the Gakhars and inflicted terrible punishment on Sarang Khan. He not only seized Sarang Khan's daughter, whom he bestowed on his general Khawas Khan, but also subdued[24] the whole country of the Gakhars and plundered the hill of Balnath, which was the residence of the Gakhar chief. He captured Sarang Khan and ordered him to be flayed alive and his skin to be filled with straw.[25]

Sher Shah thought that, to keep the Gakhars in proper check, it was imperative to have a stronghold to guard this northern frontier. This consideration led Sher Shah to erect on the borders of the country a fortress on the road between Kabul and Delhi, which would at once be a formidable barrier against invasions from the north and would also prevent the penetration by the Mughals into the Gakhar country and thence towards India.

A spot was selected for the construction of the fort of Rohtas, generally known as Rohtas Khurd, on the right bank of the river Jhelum where the Kuhan torrent bursts through the low foot hills eastwards of the Tilla range. The Gakhars had unanimously resolved not to allow any one to work for wages and they took an oath to extirpate every person who flouted their wishes. Todar Mal, a Khatri from Lahore, was entrusted with this job, being a trusted man of Sher Shah.[26] Inspired by their natural love of independence and confident of the power of their sword, the Gakhars offered all possible obstacles; all the same, the fort of Rohtas was completed.

HAIBAT KHAN NIAZI — 1540-1545

Sher Shah would have completed the subjugation of the Gakhar country as far as the Indus and thus secured a scientific and natural frontier for his empire; but he heard reports of the rebellious designs of his governor of Bengal, and had to leave the work to others. Haibat Khan Niazi was appointed the commander of the Afghan forces at Rohtas in 1540. Sher Shah had found in him the only fit person who could keep the turbulent Gakhars in check. In 1543, when Sher Shah was preoccupied with the conquest of Ranthambor, Fateh Khan, the Baloch chief, took possession of Multan. Though, after occupying Multan, he had acknowledged Sher Shah as his overlord, he had no love for Sher Shah and his Afghan rule. Haibat Khan

led his army against the Baloch chief, defeated him and was soon in possession of Multan. For this enterprising feat Sher Shah honoured Haibat Khan with the title of Azim Humayun[27] and appointed him the governor of Multan.

There was yet another revolt by Fateh Khan Jat, the robber chief of Kabula,[28] who rose against the Afghan rule at Pakpattan. Haibat Khan marched against him from Lahore, but the rebel Jat fled to a mud fort between Kahror[29] and Fatehpur. He was reinforced by the other robber chiefs, Hinder Khan Baloch and Bakhshu Khan Langah. Haibat Khan gave them a crushing defeat and relieved the country from the devastation done by the Baloch tribes and the Jats. One stronghold was established at Shergarh, after Sher Shah, where a strong force was kept to deal with the recalcitrant Baloch tribes, the Jats and the Langahs.[30]

ISLAM SHAH — 1545-1553

On Sher Shah's death, his second son, Jalal Khan, was proclaimed king under the title of Sultan Islam Shah. At his accession he resolved to crush all the Amirs of his father. Kutab Khan the commander of the Kumaon hills, who got himself implicated in the attempt to raise Islam Shah's brother to the throne, was very much afraid of Islam Shah. He fled to the Panjāb to seek refuge with Khawas Khan and Haibat Khan Niazi. Saeed Khan, brother of Haibat Khan, was one of the principal intriguers. He made good his escape and joined his brother at Lahore and pursuaded him to lead a revolt against Islam Shah. At this time the recall of Azam Humayun to the court by the king was naturally interpreted to mean his destruction.[31] But Azam Humayun refused to go. He had under his command thirty to forty thousand horse and his strength was further augmented by Khawas Khan, who came with his men and joined him. He had the Khutba read in his name and unfurled the standard of rebellion. It appeared as if the history of Ibrahim Lodi was going to repeat itself.

BATTLE OF AMBALA — 1545

The attitude of the rebels in the Panjāb was now so menacing that Islam Shah marched against them. Azam Humayun himself turned towards the capital "with more than double the king's forces."[32] Islam Shah was not to be cowed down even by such a powerful combination and the two armies pitched their camps at Ambala. On the eve of the battle, Azam Humayun and Khawas Khan sat in a conference to discuss the future of the empire should they come out victorious from the war. Khawas Khan, who was a legitimist, proposed to raise Adil Khan to the throne. He was

taken aback when the Niazis unanimously ridiculed his suggestion and held that "no one obtains kingdom by inheritance; it belongs to whoever can gain it by the sword."[33] Khawas Khan was attached to Adil and so without speaking a word made up his mind to desert the Niazis.

Islam Shah probably got a hint of the fatal division among the rebels and came out to fight them early next morning. Just at the commencement of the battle Khawas Khan withdrew from the field, to the great chagrin of the Niazis, but they fought very stubbornly. At last Islam Shah was victorious and the Niazis were routed. Of those who escaped many were drowned in the swollen stream, to the west of Ambala, and many were slaughtered. Islam Shah pursued them up to Rohtas. Khawaja Vais Sherwani was sent further in pursuit of the fugitives.[34]

STRUGGLE WITH THE NIAZI AFGHANS

After the battle of Ambala, Khawaja Vais Sherwani was appointed the governor of the Panjāb, in 1545, by Islam Shah. He could not maintain his personal hold longer, firstly because he was busy in quelling disorder in Malwa and secondly Haibat Khan Niazi had still a great deal of influence within the Panjāb and had a large following beyond the river Jhelum. Azam Humayun (Haibat Khan) and other Niazi leaders succeeded in driving Khawaja Vais Sherwani back to Lahore from Rohtas. Islam Shah lost no time in sending fresh reinforcements to Khawaja, who defeated the Niazis in the neighbourhood of Dinkot[35] and compelled them to seek the protection of the Gakhars. This combination was serious enough particularly because Humayun's position in Afghanistan had grown strong.

Islam Shah moved with a strong army to fight them. For two years (1548-1550) Islam Shah carried fire and sword into the Gakhar country but failed to subdue the indomitable Gakhars. The Niazis, however, felt it impossible to live indefinitely upon the hospitality of the Gakhars, who had become thoroughly tired of playing hosts. Hence the Niazis tried to enter Kashmir but were opposed by Mirza Haider Doghlat. A fierce battle was fought at the village of Sambla, in which Bibi Rabia, the wife of Azam Humayun, distinguished herself by heroic fighting. The Niazis were, however, outnumbered, overwhelmed and defeated. Azam Humayun, his wife and brother were killed and their heads were sent to Islam Shah. The most repugnant and disgusting feature in the Niazi war was the beastly treatment given to Niazi women. Some were kept exposed for months in a state of nudity. Others were forced to become harlots.[36]

To keep the Gakhars and the Hill Rajas in check, as also to erect a second line of defence, Islam Shah ordered the construction

of a set of five forts — a chain of fortresses[37] on the eastern bank of the Chenab — ninety miles north-east of Sialkot, which was named Mankot.[38]

It was during his present as well as his former residence at Lahore that Islam Shah, following up in some measure his father's ideas, had seriously toyed with the idea of destroying Lahore because it was the stronghold of the Mughals and had always been reinforced by the Gakhars. It was a large and flourishing city, the centre of a rich trade and was amply furnished with very useful and costly articles. It had a numerous and warlike population and manufactured large quantities of every warlike material. If Lahore was recovered and occupied by the exiled Emperor Humayun, his family or by any invader from the north, it would become a base for arming their troops and for invading India. So he desired to shift the capital of the Panjāb to Mankot, which was more remote from the country of the Gakhars and was comparatively freer from the danger of an attack along the left bank of the Indus. Moreover, from its position in the Sialkot range, it was less liable to be invaded and more easy to defend. But his plan was never put into effect.

SIKANDAR SUR — 1553-1555

Islam Shah died in 1553 and soon disorder followed. Mubarik Khan, his maternal uncle, had seized the throne and assumed the title of Muhammad Adil Shah. He was a grossly ignorant and thoroughly incompetent man. He placed his confidence particularly in Hemu, who had started his life as a salt vendor in the streets of Rewari and had subsequently been employed in a confidential capacity by Islam Shah. The disappearance of the strong personality of Sher Shah and the weakness of his successors led to the reappearance of jealousies and refractoriness among the Afghan nobles, which plunged the whole kingdom into a welter of anarchy and thus paved the way for the Mughal restoration. Sikandar had captured Delhi and Agra and Muhammad Khan Sur was on the point of crossing his border and attacking Adil. This opportunity was quite favourable for Humayun as the Afghan empire was fast crumbling to pieces in the hands of Adil Shah. Humayun had now no brother to quarrel with, his army was strong and well equipped, and all his nobles were obedient.[39]

RECONQUEST OF INDIA BY HUMAYUN — 1555

Under these circumstances Humayun moved to the banks of the Indus on December 31, 1554, where he was joined by Bairam Khan, a trusted general, and the rest of the army from Kabul.

He received information that Tatar Khan Kashi, the Afghan governor of the fort of Rohtas had abandoned the fort and retired with his whole force towards Delhi. The fort which Sher Shah had built as a bulwark against the Mughals was captured without striking a single blow. Tatar Khan Kashi seems to have been frightened by a probable combination of the Gakhars and the Mughals. Also the confusion in the Afghan camp had precluded the possibility of substantial reinforcements. A detachment was sent by Humayun to take possession of the fort and the main army marched on without meeting any serious opposition. The Gakhars remained almost neutral.[40]

Humayun reached Lahore on February 24, 1555. Making Lahore his headquarters, he sent a detachment under Shah Abul Maali towards Dipalpur, which was then held by Shahbaz Khan and Nasib Khan Afghans. A tough battle was fought and the Afghan confederacy was defeated. The property, families and retainers were seized and plundered by the Mughals.[41]

On arriving at Kalanaur[42] in Gurdaspur District from Lahore, Humayun despatched a strong body of troops under Bairam Khan and Tardi Beg to attack Nasib Khan, the Afghan general, who lay encamped at Panj-Bhain[43] near Hariana. Bairam Khan pushed on to Hariana[44] in Hoshiarpur District which, after a slight skirmish, was surrendered by Nasib Khan, and much valuable plunder as well as the families of the Afghans fell into Bairam Khan's hands. The prisoners were all set at liberty and the women and children were collected and sent under the protection of an escort to Nasib Khan in consequence of a vow made by Humayun that if Providence restored to him the sovereignty of India, he would allow no man to be made captive. Several elephants and some of the more valuable properties were despatched to Humayun.[45]

Bairam Khan advanced to Jullundur from Hariana via Sham Chaurasi,[46] where the Afghans had taken up position. The Afghans retreated on his arrival for such was the terror which the Afghans at this time entertained for the Mughals that though thousands in number, when they saw the approach of but half a score of big turbans, they instantly turned and fled, without looking back.[47] In this instance, the Afghans not only escaped with their lives but carried off their baggage too. After this, Mughal forces advanced towards Delhi.

At Machhiwara the Mughal army crossed the Satlej to meet the Afghan general Tatar Khan Kashi who had been sent by Sikandar Sur with 50,000 horse. Tatar Khan gained some preliminary advantage, for the Mughal commandar evacuated Sirhind and fell back on the main army. Consequently, the Afghans were in high spirits. Numerically superior, they were keen to come to grips with the Mughal army, but were kept at bay by the Mughal archers till night-fall. And then a fire broke out in a large village

of thatched houses exposing the Afghan army completely. The Mughal archers took full advantage of it and showered arrows into them till they broke and fled leaving their elephants and property to the Mughals. The Mughals then pushed on to Sirhind under Bairam Khan.[48]

BATTLE OF SIRHIND

Sikandar Sur was also not inactive. He came to Sirhind with a large army estimated at 80,000 horse. Bairam Khan fortified his position and sent a request to Humayun, who was then at Lahore, to send reinforcements.[49] Prince Akbar was immediately ordered by the Emperor to go and he himself followed and joined the army at Sirhind. The Mughals tried to harrass the Afghans and cut off their supplies. In one of the raids, Tardi Beg got the better of the Afghans, captured an important supply train and killed the brother of Sikandar Sur. In their rage, the Afghans opened an attack and on June 22, 1555, a decisive battle was fought at Sirhind. The Afghans broke and fled. Sikandar Sur narrowly escaped with his life into the Shivalik hills. The victory was complete. The most remarkable thing in this battle was that on both sides humanity and gentleness were practised, so much so that the bodies of those who had sacrificed their lives were reverently made over to their respective friends.[50]

The first act of Humayun's government was to distribute the provinces among his men. Hissar-i-Feroza was assigned to Akbar, being the province Humayun himself had received from Babar when he first entered India. Sirhind and some other districts were granted to Bairam Khan in addition to Qandhar, which he already held. Before leaving for Sirhind to reinforce Bairam Khan, Humayun had appointed Farhat Khan[51] as the governor of the Panjāb, with suitable officers to support him. Babar Khan was made the military commander, Mirza Shah Sultan the civil administrator, and Mehtar Jauhar the treasurer of the Panjāb.[52]

Later, after the battle of Sirhind, when Sikandar Sur was threatening the Panjāb from the Shivalik hills, where he had fled, Shah Abul Maali was appointed the governor of Jullundur Doab to check him. He was ordered to proceed to Jullundur immediately and to establish his headquarters there to watch the activities of Sikandar. But instead of remaining at Jullundur, Shah Abul Maali proceeded to Lahore and he speedily usurped all the powers of the province from Gharat Khan and began to act like an absolute sovereign.[53]

The ill-advised movement of the Shah from Jullundur to Lahore gave an opportunity to Sikandar to occupy the Jullundur Doab and he began to collect the revenue. Humayun designated

Akbar, the heir apparent, in the Shah's place. Bairam Khan was to assist the young prince in order to Put down Sikandar's depredations.[54]

NOTES

1. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. II — Briggs, p. 29.
   Akbarnama, Vol. II — Beveridge, pp. 236, 277, 296.
2. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. II — Briggs, pp. 71, 72.
3. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, pp. 290, 291.
   Humayun Badshah — S. K. Banerji, pp. 53-56.
4. *Baburnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 125.
   Humayun Badshah — S. K. Banerji, p. 54.
   Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. I — Ranking, p. 582.
5. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. II — Briggs, p. 72.
6. Muhammad Zaman Mirza was the eldest son-in-law of Babar (*Humayun Badshah* — S. K. Banerji, p. 23).
7. Sam Mirza was the brother of Shah Tahmasp, the able successor of Shah Ismail of Iran.
8. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 288.
9. *Humayun Badshah* — S. K. Benerji, pp. 53-58, 237, 238.
   History of India, Vol. II — Erskine, pp. 8, 9, 101, 102.
10. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. II — Briggs, p. 88.
11. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. II — Briggs, p. 90.
12. *History of India*, Vol. II — Erskine, pp. 200, 201.
    Humayun Badshah, Vol. II — S. K. Banerji, pp. 4, 5.
    Akbarnama, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 358.
13. Sixteen miles from Kapurthala on the Ferozepur railway line.
14. *History of India*, Vol. II — Erskine, pp. 200, 201.
15. *Akbarnama*, Vol. I — Beveridge, p. 359.
16. *Humayunama* — Beveridge, p. 144.
17. *History of India*, Vol. II — Erskine, p. 424.
18. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, Vol. IV — Elliot and Dowson, p. 388.
19. *Panjab Castes* — Ibbetson (1916), pp. 41-57.
    India of Aurangzeb — Jadunath Sarkar, p. 77.
    Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. I — Briggs, p. 183.
20. *Panjab Castes* — Ibbetson, pp. 165-69.
21. Hassan Abdal (Panja Sahib) route. *The Land of the Five Rivers* — Trevaskis, pp. 41, 96, 248.
22. *History of India*, Vol. II — Erskine, p. 425.
23. *History of India*, Vol. II — Erskine, pp. 425, 426.
24. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, Vol. IV — Elliot and Dowson, pp. 390, 493.
25. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, Vol. IV — Elliot and Dowson, pp. 390-93.
26. *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani Makhzani-i-Afghani* — Nawab Ullah Harvi (Text), p. 195.
27. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — B. De., p. 169.
28. Twentyeight miles from Pakpattan and 28 miles from Montgomery.
29. Fiftyone miles from Multan and 47 miles from Tibba, in Multan District.
30. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, Vol. IV — Elliot and Dowson, pp. 398, 399.
31. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. II — Briggs, pp. 131-33.
32. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. II — Briggs, p. 133.
    Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., pp. 183, 184.
33. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. II — Briggs, p. 133.
    Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., p. 184.
34. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — B. De., pp. 181-85.
    Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II — Briggs, p. 134.
    History of India, Vol. II — Erskine, pp. 4560-67.

35. Abdulla, the author of *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, calls it Mankot and says that Dinkot was the place towards which the Niazis had fled.
36. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — B. De., pp. 188, 189.
Tarikh-i-Nizami, p. 220.
Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, p. 168.
Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II — Briggs, p. 135.
37. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 394, 395.
38. "The fortress of Mankot was composed of four strong forts which Slaim Khan Sur (Islam Shah) had constructed on the adjoining hills at the time when he had marched out to extirpate the Gakhars and had returned frustrated. On each hill he built a fort composed of stone and mortar, and to the eye of a spectator the whole fortification looked like one fort. The site was very strong and difficult of access by troops and if access were attained it was very difficult to lay hands on the garrison. It had an abundant supply of good water and as much provisions as were wanted." (*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II — H. W. Lowe, p. 11).
Maasir-ul-Umera, Vol. I, pp. 67, 68, gives a picturesque description of the fort and full explanation as to why Islam Shah wanted to carry out the plan referred to.
39. *History of India*, Vol. II — Erskine, p. 495.
Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., p. 193.
The Oriental Biographical Dictionary — T. W. Beale, p. 260.
40. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 620.
Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II — Briggs, pp. 173, 174.
Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., p. 131.
41. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 620.
42. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 623.
43. Two miles from Hariana to the east towards the fort of Mallot.
44. Ten miles to the north from Hoshiarpur on the Dasuya Road. Dr. Ishwari Prasad locates this place as Hariana Prant comprising Gurgaon, Hissar, Rohtak, Karnal and Jind Districts, which is incorrect. (*The Life and Times of Humayun* p. 343).
45. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 624.
History of India, Vol. II — Erskine, p. 344.
46. Eight miles from the writer's village, Domeli, a little off the road which runs between Jullundur and Hoshiarpur.
47. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 625.
Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. II — H. W. Lowe, p. 188.
History of India, Vol. II — Erskine, p. 513.
48. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 625.
History of India, Vol. II — Erskine, p. 512.
Akbarnama, Vol. I, Text, pp. 93, 94.
Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II — Blochman, p. 330.
49. *Tawarikh-i-Humayun-wa-Akbar* — Bayazid Biyat, pp. 190-99.
50. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 620-28.
51. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 623.
Erskine calls him Farkhat Khan (*History of India*, Vol. II, p. 523).
52. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 488, 489.
Akbarnama, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 623.
53. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 639.
54. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Blochman, pp. 325, 339, 488.
History of India, Vol. II — Erskine, pp. 401, 420, 512.
Akbarnama, Vol. II — Beveridge, pp. 639, 640.

CHAPTER IV

PANJAB UNDER AKBAR — 1556-1605

Akbar was at Hariana with Bairam Khan when he received the news[1] of his father's precarious condition and Bairam Khan instead of advancing against Sikandar Sur,[2] who had taken refuge in the fort of Mankot, proceeded to Kalanaur, to turn to Lahore. Another messenger, Nazar Shaikh Juli,[3] waited upon Akbar at Kalanaur (he had reached there by that time) and broke the sad news of Humayun's death. Bairam Khan, took immediate steps to enthrone Akbar on a brick platform, which was erected for the occasion, and proclaimed him the Emperor of India on February 14, 1556.[4] The accession ceremony at Kalanaur was performed to register Akbar's claim to sovereignty. His small army under Bairam Khan had a precarious hold on certain tracts of the Panjāb and even that army could not be implicitly trusted.

From the very beginning, Bairam Khan acted with vigilance and promptness. Among the potential trouble makers the chief personality was Shah Abdul Maali. Tracing his descent to the Saiyids of Tirmiz, who were held in great veneration all over Central Asia, he had a very attractive personality, a fine physique, graceful manners, courage and a directness which had made him a favourite of Humayun, who used to address him by the exalted titled of son (Farzand) and always gave him a seat of honour in the councils and banquets. At first he declined to attend Akbar's coronation at Kalanaur,[5] but later, after much persuation, the Shah attended the ceremony.[6] He made no effort to hide his arrogance, thrust himself forward into a place to which he had no claim, and behaved with such gross disregard of propriety that it became necessary to arrest him.[7] His arrest was preplanned. The removal of this most arrogant, ambitious and powerful Amir averted for the time being every possibility of immediate trouble in the imperial camp.[8]

India at this time presented a dark as well as a complex picture. Humayun had hardly recovered his old possessions leave alone consolidating what little he had actually regained when his death occurred. Consequently, the whole of his dominion, especially the Panjāb, was in an almost chaotic condition. In the north-west, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's half-brother, the governor of Kabul, was almost independent. The Panjāb was divided into three well-defined sectors when Akbar had his formal coronation ceremony at Kalanaur. The first was the Eastern Belt ranging from the Ravi. It comprised the Himachal Hindu Rajput States, e.g. Kangra under Dharam Chand Katoch,

Siba under Prag Chand, Nurpur under Takhat Mal, who had allied himself with Sikandar Sur and was helping him with men and money,[9] Chamba under Ganesh Verman, Suket under Arjan Sen, and Mandi under Sahib Sen. The strongest of all these Hindu States was Kangra. Shahpur State was under the sway of a Muslim chief of the Pathania clan.[10]

The second Belt stretched from the Chenab and also embraced a portion of the Lower Eastern Valley of the Jhelum. It included Jammu, Mankot, Jasrota, Basholi, and some more petty states under various other chiefs. This part of the group again was primarily Hindu in which Jammu under Kapur Dev occupied a very important place. The Western Belt extending from the upper valley of the Chenab to the upper valley of the Indus was made up of Kashmir under Ghazi Khan. The other independent small states of this Belt were Gingal, Muzaffarabad, Khazain Garhi, Rash Dhantamar, Gandgarh, Darband, Tarbela, Pharwala (Rawalpindi), Sultanpur and Khanpur, which were all inhabited by Muslim tribes such as the Khaka, Bambas, Afghans and Gakhars, under the hegemony of Kashmir ruler Ghazi Khan.

Sind and Multan had become independent from the imperial control. The Surs were still in occupation of the greater portion of Sher Shah's dominions from Delhi to Rohtas, on the road to Kabul.

Hemu, the capable general of Adil Shah Sur, had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mughal governors and had occupied Delhi.[11] At this time Akbar was at Jullundur[12] with his troops, engaged in quelling the disturbance caused by Sikandar Sur. On receipt of this news, he left behind Khwaja Khizer Khan to check the movements of Sikandar Sur and marched towards Delhi on October 13, 1556.[13] When he reached the vicinity of Sirhind, the three fugitive Mughal governors of Agra, Delhi and Sambhal joined Akbar and counselled him to retreat to Kabul. Bairam Khan, however, decided to risk all in an attempt to recover Delhi, and pursuaded Akbar to adopt his views. On account of the cowardice shown on the occasion, Tardi Beg was put to death[14] by Bairam Khan. He also imprisoned Khwaja Sultan Ali and Mir Munshi who were suspected to be guilty of treachery and cowardice.[15]

SECOND BATTLE OF PANIPAT — 1556

Akbar advanced from Sirhind having decided to resolve this issue by force of arms. He sent a strong chosen force under Ali Quli Khan Shaibani in advance. Hemu, with a huge army and fifteen hundred elephants, hastened to oppose them. His artillery, which had been sent in advance, was captured by the vanguard of Ali Quli Khan in a preliminary engagement, but

even after this loss, Hemu possessed immense superiority in strength.[16]

On the early morning of November 5, 1556, the scouts reported Hemu's arrival at Panipat from Delhi. The generals of Akbar arrayed the troops. Meanwhile the main bodies of the two armies were in motion. Bairam Khan detained Akbar at a safe distance from the field and entrusted the command of the centre to Ali Quli Khan, the Khan Zaman. Hemu's army on account of its superiority in number managed to envelope Akbar's forces and threw its both wings into confusion. Hemu then attempted to decide the fate of the day by leading against the centre with his fifteen hundred elephants, on which he chiefly relied.

The Mughals fought valiantly but were just about to give way when a stray arrow struck Hemu in the eye and made him unconscious.[17] Hemu's army, presuming that their leader was dead, was panic stricken and scattered in all directions making no further attempt to resist.[18] Hemu was overtaken by Ali Quli Khan who brought him before Akbar.[19] His head was sent to Kabul and his body was gibbeted at Delhi as a warning to like-minded persons.[20] Thus ended the career of one of the most remarkable persons of the sixteenth century. Numerous reasons have been assigned for his ultimate defeat but these are either fanciful or speculative, if not malicious. The causes of his defeat were the capture of his artillery and the random arrow which made him unconscious and caused panic in his army. His defeat was accidental and the victory of Akbar providential.

Akbar was at Delhi when the news arrived on March 10, 1557, that at the instigation of Mulla Abdulla Sultanpuri, Sikandar Sur had descended upon the plains of the Jullundur Doab and had started collecting land revenue.[21] Khizer Khan, the governor, handing over Lahore to Haji Muhammad Khan, set out to oppose[22] the enemy near the town of Chamiari,[23] but could not face the attack and retreated to Lahore. On December 17, 1556, the imperial forces immediately advanced through Jullundur into the Shivalik hills and encamped at Dasuya[24] and moved further to Nurpur.[25] The Hill Rajas who had sided with Sikandar Sur, deserted him and submitted to Akbar. At this, Sikandar was much disheartened and finding himself too weak to withstand the onslaughts of the imperial army, fled without encountering the enemy and took refuge in the fort of Mankot.[26]

Receiving the news of Sikandar's flight to the fort of Mankot, Akbar's forces pursued and besieged the fort.[27] The supply of corn began to run short,[28] and the soldiers began to desert the fort in increasing numbers. Sikandar's request to be permitted to surrender was granted and Behar was given to him as a fief. The fort was put under the charge of Abul Qasim,[29] for the time being.

Takhat Mal[30] who had sided with Sikandar Sur, was decapitated under the orders of Bairam Khan and Mankot was bestowed upon Bakhat Mal, brother of Takhat Mal,[31] who pledged to remain loyal to the Emperor. Akbar moved from Mankot to Lahore.

Beginning with Akbar's reign the Panjāb began to be governed regularly by the governors appointed by the Great Mughals. Thus, at the dismissal of Shah Abdul Maali, Hussain Khan Tukriya, who was formerly in Bairam Khan's service, was appointed the governor in 1557, immediately after the conquest of Mankot. Tukriya was known as the Don Quixote of Akbar's reign. During his office, he had ordered the Hindus to wear a patch (Tukra) near the shoulders and, thus, got the nickname of Tukriya (Patcher). He governed the Panjāb only for one year and died in 1557.[32]

Farhat Khan Mihtar Sakai succeeded Hussain Khan Tukriya in 1558.[33] He had already acted as the governor of this province in 1555. Farhat Khan governed the Panjāb with an iron hand. The only event which occurred during his governorship was the rebellion of Bairam Khan. Shamas-ud-din Atka Khan was deputed to quell this rebellion.[34]

REBELLION OF BAIRAM KHAN — 1560

The regency of Bairam Khan which had been responsible for the firm establishment of the Mughal rule in India, lasted for four years. Though he had rendered valuable service to the Mughals, yet numerous forces were active in undermining his influence. His most formidable opponents were the Turkish nobles in general and the foster-parents of Akbar in particular. They wanted to shake Bairam's power at any cost and induced the Emperor to nullify his power in the court. Akbar also wanted to rid himself of Bairam Khan's tutelage. In 1560, the Emperor openly expressed to Bairam Khan his determination to take the reigns of the government into his own hands. Bairam Khan was asked to proceed to Mecca, which in a way implied his dismissal from service.[35]

In spite of the advice of his many friends to take up arms against Akbar, Bairam Khan[36] did not like to stain the glorious record of his life-long service to the Mughal family and, after some hesitation, complied with the royal command and surrendered the insignia of his office to Akbar.[37] In 1560, he proceeded leisurely to the Panjāb to recover his private treasure, which he had left at Sirhind and Lahore. The court sent Mullah Pir Muhammad, a personal enemy and former subordinate of Bairam Khan, "to pack off Bairam"[38] out of the imperial dominions.

Bairam Khan was now fully convinced that his enemies were intent on his ruin. After some fatal hesitation, due to his feeling of loyalty, he decided to vindicate himself by taking up arms to punish his enemies. Instead of going to Mecca, he turned from Bikaner to the Panjāb and revolted against the Emperor. Akbar was alarmed at this, and gave orders for general mobilisation. On April 18, 1560, Mir Abdul Latif was hastily despatched to check Bairam's progress. Akbar himself marched and encamped at Jhajar[39] on April 22, 1560.[40]

Meanwhile, Bairam had arrived at the fort of Tabarinda,[41] in the Panjāb, which was the fief of Sher Muhammad Dewana,[42] who was his old servant and had received many favours at his hand. Bairam left his family and luggage in the fort with Sher Muhammad. But contrary to his expectations, Sher Muhammad turned traitor and appropriated Bairam's whole property to himself. Bairam then proceeded to Dipalpur,[43] governed by Darvesh Muhammad Uzbek, one of his old adherents. He too behaved in the same manner as Sher Muhammad. All hopes of success at an end, Bairam Khan now advanced on Jullundur by way of Tihara,[44] where a party of his friends under Wali Beg was defeated by Abdullah Khan Mughal, the chief of Tihara.

The royal army blocked the path of Bairam Khan at Dikdar,[45] near Jullundur. He was trying to capture Jullundur when he heard of the approach of Atka Khan. Bairam Khan divided his forces into two parts. The advance guard was under the command of Wali Beg, Shah Quli Khan Mahram and others. With nearly fifty big elephants he himself took charge of the centre. On the other side were arranged the forces of Atka Khan supported by Shamas-ud-din Muhammad.[46] The right wing was commanded by Qasim, while a band of devoted servants formed the vanguard.[47] Yusaf Muhammad Khan Kokaltash with a modest force took his post between the centre and the vanguard. Though Bairam Khan did not have many men with him, they were all seasoned fighters. He could also count on the clandestine support of many soldiers in the royal army, who had sent letters offering their help to him, on account of their former attachments.

When the rival forces encountered each other near the village of Gunachaur[48] on August 23, 1560,[49] there were brave feats on both the sides. In the first encounter the advance corps of Bairam Khan displayed such valour that most of the soldiers of the imperial army were forced to flee. At this time, when Bairam Khan's men had almost routed the enemy and were pursuing them,[50] Bairam Khan closed in on Atka Khan; but as ill-luck would have it, his elephant got stuck in the bog. Atka Khan seized the opportunity and began spraying their elephants with arrows. Bairam Khan, with a view to strike at the imperial army from the

left, withdrew a little in order to charge more vigorously; but his men, taking that to be a signal for flight, turned their backs and began to desert in confusion.

Atka Khan sent Yusaf Muhammad Khan with a body of brave men, and when Bairam Khan turned back so as to renew his attack, his forces were defeated and Bairam Khan had to withdraw and retreat in disgrace. Atka Khan was prudent and did not pursue Bairam Khan for very long.[51] The news of this victory over Bairam Khan was brought to Akbar when he was at Sirhind.[52]

After his discomfiture at Gunachaur, Bairam Khan retreated towards the Shivalik hills to recoup his strength and to try his luck once again. To pursue him, the royal camp moved towards the Shivalik hills from Ludhiana[53] on October 1, 1560. Bairam Khan had fortified himself in the capital of Raja Ganesh[54] of Talwara,[55] who was a strong chief in the midst of the Shivalik hills. A great battle was fought between the imperialists and Bairam's troops at Talwara. Sultan Hussain Jalair,[56] one of the most trusted friends of Bairam Khan, died on the battlefield. His head was cut off by his adversaries and sent to Bairam Khan, who, seeing it, wept with great grief.[57]

Half-hearted rebel, Bairam Khan, was driven to dismay and despair at the death of his friend Hussain Jalair and at his own untenable position. He, therefore, threw himself at the mercy of the Emperor, in October 1560. Akbar was not oblivious of the great services which Bairam had rendered to him and his family. Hence the Emperor rose from his seat, accosted him well, embraced him, and seated him on his right side. Bairam burst into tears at this unexpected reception, which intensified all the more his feelings of humiliation and remorse. The Emperor consoled him with kind words and presented him with his own robe.[58] Akbar was at Hariana when Bairam Khan was granted the royal pardon and from there the Khan-i-Khanan left for Mecca.

Bairam Khan, like all masterful persons with a dominant bent of mind, had considered himself indispensable; his fall was, sooner or later, inevitable.

After appointing Shamas-ud-din Atka Khan to the governorship of the Panjāb, Akbar returned to Delhi at the head of the triumphant army, on November 24, 1560; thence he proceeded to Agra arriving there on December 21, 1560.[59]

Shamas-ud-din Atka Khan was the son of Yar Muhammad of Ghazni, who had entered the service of Mirza Kamran as an ordinary soldier, and was present at the battle of Qanauj, in 1540. Atka Khan distinguished himself in the wars against Sikandar Shah Sur and in recognition of his good services, was appointed

as the governor in 1561. He was also awarded a flag and drums and the title of Khan-i-Azim in the same year.[60]

Mir Muhammad, the Khan-i-Kalan, was the elder brother of Shamas-ud-din Atka Khan. He was appointed the governor of the Panjāb in 1566 when Shamas-ud-din was called to Delhi for appointment as the Prime Minister of Mughal India. During his governorship two major events took place which occupy a conspicuous place in the history of the Panjāb. The first was the reduction of the Gakhars and the second was the first invasion of the Panjāb by Muhammad Hakim Mirza.[61]

MUHAMMAD HAKIM MIRZA — 1566

Hakim Mirza, Akbar's step brother, being driven out of Kabul when it was invaded by Sulaiman Mirza of Badakhshan,[62] had come to India to seek Akbar's help. Akbar was pleased to order Khan-i-Kalan to help the Mirza. Meanwhile, the Mirza changed his mind. Encouraged by the Uzbek rebellion and instigated by his maternal uncle Faridun, Mirza Hakim invaded the Panjāb in 1566. As his invasion came as a surprise, he found no serious opposition. Plundering Bhera on his way, he came to besiege Lahore. Akbar was beside himself with anger and on November 17, 1566,[63] marched from Agra to repel his brother.

The report about the Mirza's advance put the Panjāb officers on their guard and Khan-i-Kalan and others acted in concert to defend the fort of Lahore. The Mirza reached the vicinity of Lahore and encamped in the gardens of Mahdi Qasmi Khan. Next day the fort was besieged; but all the hopes of the Mirza to take it by storm were frustrated by the brave defence by the besieged. When news came that Akbar himself was marching on him, the Mirza was dejected and, being concerned about his own safety, hastily departed towards the Indus.[64]

The hurried retreat of the Mirza turned out to be quite fortunate for Akbar. If he had managed to hold on in India for some more time, he would have found his cause more hopeful. For, while the Emperor's attention was engrossed in the Panjāb, rebellions broke out in Uttar Pradesh, from Sambhal to Jaunpur. The Mirzas of Sambhal were in open revolt; the Uzbeks were up in arms and had been joined by Asaf Khan of the Garh-Katanga fame. The Uzbeks had already read the Khutba in the name of Mirza Muhammad Hakim. Caught between two fires, Akbar would have found himself in very desperate straits. Indeed, since the days of Hemu, Akbar had to face no crisis more serious than this. But the stars were in his favour. The rebel Mirza had no definite plan and could not take any firm and coherent action. Sensing this indecision, Akbar, who was then on the banks of the Satlej, advanced on Lahore, reaching it by the end of February

1567.[65] After the conquest, Shamas-ud-din Atka Khan was appointed the governor of Patan and, on his transfer, Khan Jahan Hussain Quli Khan was made the governor of the Panjāb.[66]

Khan Jahan Hussain Quli Khan was the son of Bairam Khan's sister; his father was much attached to Bairam Khan. During his governership, two important events took place. One was the expedition on Nagarkot (Kangra) to subdue Raja Jai Chand. The conquest of this impregnable stronghold of the Himachal Rajput Chiefs was a matter of prestige and significance for the Mughal Emperor. The second event, the revolt of Ibrahim, also Hussain Mirza, was equally important.[67]

EXPEDITION ON NAGARKOT (KANGRA) — 1572

Being alienated from Jai Chand,[68] Raja of Nagarkot, on some account Akbar ordered Hussain Quli Khan[69] to take the Raja into custody and send him to Delhi. At the latter's imprisonment, Bidhi Chand, the son of the Raja, thinking that his father was dead,[70] rebelled against Akbar. Akbar bestowed the country of Nagarkot on Birbal[71] and wrote a Firman to Hussain Quli Khan to seize Nagarkot and hand it over to Birbal.[72]

There was a very dense jungle on the way and the Mughal forces could move towards Nagarkot with much difficulty. The troops in their first attack conquered the citadel of Bhul, in which there was a temple of the goddess Mahamai. A number of Rajputs with indomitable courage stood firm and performed great deeds of valour, but at last they had to yield. Many Brahmans, who had for years been attendants of the temple, were killed. About two hundred black cows, which the Hindus had left in that temple as offerings, were killed in the conflict and tumult. The invading soldiers then took off their boots and filled them with the blood that flowed from these animals and splashed it on the walls of the temple.[73]

As the outer fortifications of Nagarkot had now fallen to the imperial army, the structures were razed to the ground to make room for the Mughal camp. After that the siege commenced and covered ways and batteries were constructed for the purpose. Some pieces of heavy cannons were brought to the foot of the hills and fired. Eighty persons lost their lives by a single shot during that operation; yet full of valour, the Rajputs did not submit. Raja Bidhi Chand led them with typical heroism.[74]

The expedition had to be postponed when the news was received of the disturbances created by Mirza Ibrahim Husain. The latter had advanced to Lahore after his defeat by the imperial army in Cambay (Gujarat), where he had revolted against Akbar. He came to the Panjāb knowing that the governor of that province, Hussain Quli Khan, was pre-occupied with the expedition to Nagar-

kot and that there was no one else to check him. Hussain Quli Khan was in a difficult position. The subjugation of the Raja was imperative and so too was the need to check the progress of the rebel from Cambay towards the Panjāb. His troops were confronted with many hardships in this hilly area. His commanders were also demoralised and asked him to sue for peace with the Raja. So, under these circumstances, Hussain Quli Khan concluded a treaty with Raja Bidhi Chand under the following terms :—

1. That the Raja would send his daughter to the royal harem.
2. The Raja would pay five maunds of gold as tribute according to the weight of Akbar Shah which was equal to one year's revenue of the temple.[75]
3. Much material and precious things of all kinds were also usurped by the imperial army.[76]
4. The coins were struck in the name of Akbar.[77]
5. On a Friday in the middle of Shawwal 980 A.H. (1572 A.D.) a pulpit was erected and Hafiz Muhammad Baqir read the Khutba in the name of the Emperor.[78]
6. The Raja undertook to acknowledge formally the suzerainty of Akbar.[79]
7. Because the province was given to Raja Birbal as his Jagir, a large sum was to be given to him as compensation.

The revolt of Ibrahim Husain Mirza had interrupted and rendered ineffective this expedition which Hussain Quli Khan had undertaken with good hopes of complete success. He had occupied the outer town, but the garrison in the citadel still held out, when he was obliged to withdraw his troops to pursue the rebel Mirza. The capture of the fort was deferred until 1620, when it was occupied in the reign of Jahangir.

Mirza Ibrahim Husain[80] being defeated by Akbar in Gujarat, marched to the Panjāb with about three hundred men and sacked the towns of Sonepat, Panipat and Karnal on the way to Lahore. A large number of fiery and rugged men joined him and caused much trouble in this province.

Hussain Quli Khan, advancing with his troops, by forced marches, reached the town on Talamba and defeated the Mirza. Hussain Quli Khan was replaced by Shah Quli Maharam, in 1575, as the governor of the Panjāb.[81] Formerly Shah Quli Maharam was in the service of Bairam Khan and he distinguished himself in the war against Hemu. He remained loyal to the Khan-i-Khanan during his adversity, but was pardoned by the Emperor along with Bairam Khan at Talwara. He rose higher and higher in Akbar's favour; however, he could not properly supress the turbulent people of the Panjāb. His administration began to deteriorate on account of his leniency. Criminals and miscreants went unpunished and thus great disorder prevailed in the province.

When Akbar was informed about this state of affairs, he issued orders for his recall in 1578 and Sa'id Khan was sent to take over the charge. Shah Quli Maharam died at Agra in 1601. He erected splendid buildings and had many a large tank dug at Narnaul, where he chiefly lived after his retirement.

The seven years of Sa'id Khan's governorship were very eventful, as the Emperor's attention during this period was mainly directed to the North-West Frontier. "The year 1581 may be regarded as the most critical time in the reign of Akbar, if his early struggle to consolidate his power be not taken into account."[82] Kashmir and Kabul were two important frontier provinces, where the maintenance of complete control was necessary for the safety of the Mughal Empire. And thus, any sort of disturbance could not be tolerated in this part. Sa'id Khan had to deal with this problem during his governorship.

SECOND INVASION OF MUHAMMAD HAKIM MIRZA — 1581

In 1581,[83] news arrived that Mirza Muhammad Hakim, on the invitation of Asi Kabuli, Masum Farankhudi[84] and Faridun, Mirza's maternal uncle, was about to invade India. It was indeed the good fortune of Akbar that Hakim's project of invading India was postponed owing to a civil war in Badakhshan. Had he invaded earlier when the Bengal rebellion was at its height, and symptoms of disaffection were visible in other parts of the empire, the task of Akbar would have been made far more difficult, though by no means hopeless. When, however, the Kabul army marched upon Panjāb the political situation had somewhat eased, though the rebellion in the East was yet far from being brought under control. It was in December 1580,[85] that the advance party of the Kabul troops crossed the Indus. Yusaf, the governor of Rohtas, loyally supported by the brave Gakhars, showed zest and energy in offering resistance. Nur-ud-din Haji, one of the military commanders of the Mirza, was killed and the Afghan troops were driven back. Akbar, mustering a huge army of fifty thousand cavalry, five hundred elephants and innumerable infantry, moved on February 8, 1581, to Lahore, accompanied by Princes Salim and Murad.[86]

Akbar ordered Kunwar Man Singh to march forward and take charge of the frontier. Man Singh moved up immediately and sent some troops to Rawalpindi, as he expected another attack to seek revenge for the failure of Nur-ud-din. He was right in his calculations. For, Shadman, "the sword of Afghan army", laid siege to the fort of Nilab, fifteen miles below Attock, on February 18, 1581.[87] Man Singh hurried up to Nilab with his Rajput troops. On the 24th, a battle was fought between the Afghans and the Rajputs in which the former were defeated.

In a hand-to-hand combat Shadman was mortally wounded by Raja Suraj Singh, the brother of Man Singh, and the commander of the Mughal vanguard. Though taken away alive from the field, Shadman died shortly after.[88] As soon as Shadman's death was reported, Hakim advanced with fifteen thousand cavalry. Akbar had already anticipated this move and had sent instructions to the officers of the Indus region not to oppose the passage of the Mirza across the Indus, and to put off engagement till he himself had joined them.[89] Consequently Man Singh fell back upon Lahore to organize a strong defence there. The Mirza now crossed the Indus and invited Yusaf, the governor of Rohtas, to join him, but the invitation was declined. Thinking it a sheer waste of time to attempt to capture Rohtas, Hakim pushed on to Lahore[90] on February 15, 1581, and laid siege to it. But Lahore was bravely defended by Raja Bhagwan Das, Man Singh and others, and the efforts of the Mirza to capture it came to nothing. His disappointment was great when he found that not a single officer, Hindu or Mussalman, nor even the Mullas of Lahore, joined him against Akbar.[91]

When the Emperor was encamped at Shahabad, he learnt about the high treason of Khwaja Shah Mansur, his trusted finance minister, who was in league with the Mirza. Man Singh had found in the portfolio of Shadman, the Afghan General, three letters written to Hakim-ul-Mulk, Qasim Khan Mir Bahr and Khwaja Shah Mansur, respectively, purporting to be answers to the letters of invitation and encouragement written to Hakim by those officers.[92] Later some more letters were intercepted. Eventually at Shahabad, before a gathering of chief nobles and other officials, Abul Fazl read out the charges against Mansur, who was hanged on a Babul tree on February 27, 1581.[93] Thus ended the life of an able finance minister.

A bitter controversy has raged round the death of the Khwaja. Some have pronounced it as "a foul play", while others have justified it fully. A careful and minute study has led us to the conclusion that political consideration and the highly charged atmosphere necessitated immediate and drastic action even if this meant a rather summary way of meeting out justice. His death, at that time, came as a warning to some and relief to others.[94]

After this execution, Akbar resumed his march to Lahore and, passing through Ambala and Sirhind, arrived at Pael,[95] where he received the happy news of Mirza Hakim's flight. Till then Akbar seemed to be in an anxious, sombre mood, which was dispelled by these glad tidings making him cheerful again.[96]

It was necessary for Akbar to go to Lahore. From there he decided to proceed to the frontier to organize the defences there and lay the groundwork for a strong fort at Attock to act as a

bulwark against any invasion from Kabul and to form the last link of the mighty chain of defences erected by Sher Shah and Islam Shah at Rohtas and Mankot. Here he laid the foundation of a powerful fortification, which he named Attock Banaras to rhyme with Cuttack Banaras, the farthest eastern limit of his empire in Orissa. A message was sent to Hakim to come in person and seek a settlement, failing which he should send one of his sons, with his sister Bakhtunnissa Begam.[97] Hakim, however, did not think it worthwhile to reply. To effect the complete submission of the Mirza, Akbar advanced towards Kabul. He ordered his troops to proceed to Rohtas and himself followed soon after and joined his army, when the Emperor was entertained royally by Yusaf Khan, the governor of the fort. Then via Rewat, Gagar and Hazara, Akbar reached the Indus and encamped there.[98]

After fifty days' stay on the Indus, Prince Murad and Raja Man Singh were sent in advance. Akbar also reached Kabul on August 9, 1581. Muhammad Hakim Mirza now completely surrendered and, at the intercession of Ali Muhammad, the Emperor forgave him and reinstated him on the throne of Kabul. After this, Akbar returned to Lahore.[99] Since the days of Babar, this was the first time in the history of Mughal India when one of her rulers made a triumphal entry into Kabul. But for several reasons it was not advisable to stay in Kabul. Akbar had been absent from the capital for over six months and was, therefore, anxious to return as soon as he could.

LAHORE — IMPERIAL HEADQUARTER — 1585-1598

For the next fourteen years (1585-1598) Akbar made Lahore the capital of India as the conditions in Kabul and Kashmir were very unstable. The frontier tribes were turbulent and unruly and were a continual source of disorder in the Panjāb. From Lahore the Emperor conducted military operations against Kashmir, planned wars with North-East Afghanistan, and undertook the conquest of Sind and Qandhar. He was obviously very anxious to maintain the integrity of the empire by securing and safeguarding every possible route to India. He sent expeditions to conquer Kashmir, Swat, Bijaur and Baluchistan. Man Singh was sent to Kabul as its governor. Attock was made the head base for the frontier defence.[100] It was, however, not expedient to move the court back to Fatehpur so long as the frontier tribes had not been constrained to adopt a reasonable frame of mind. Kashmir still remained to be subdued and the general situation had not yet improved appreciably. Moreover famine conditions in the provinces of Agra and Delhi deterred him from going there. Hence he returned to Lahore, in May 1584, and made it the capital of his empire.

Akbar repaired and enlarged the fort and surrounded the town with a wall, portions of which remain to this day, embeded in the relatively recent work of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. During these years Akbar was visited by Portuguese missionaries, and by the Englishmen Fitch, Newbery, Leeds and Storey. Under Akbar, Lahore rapidly grew in area and population. Specimen of the mixed Hindu and Saracenic style of architecture and art, which had been adopted by Akbar, survive within the fort of Lahore, though largely defaced by later alterations.

Khwaja Shamas-ud-din Khawafi was made the governor of the Panjāb in 1598. He was a man of simple manners, very honest, faithful and practical in running the administration. He died at Lahore in 1600 and was buried in that quarter of the town which to this day is known as Khawafipura.[101]

Zain Khan Koka was installed as the governor of the Panjāb and Kabul in 1600, but was soon recalled to Agra by the Emperor. He died in 1601 on account of excessive drinking. As Sa'id Khan was known for his eunuchs and Qulij Khan for his good horses, Zain Khan Koka was famous for his elephants.[102]

Mirza Qulij Khan was appointed the governor of the Panjāb in 1601. During his governorship the people of the province were unhappy in general, particularly the Hindus. His administration was arbitrary and also anti-Hindu.[103]

NOTES

1. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — B. De., p. 139.
2. *Akbarnama*, Vol. I — Beveridge, p. 367.
   Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. I — B. De., p. 139.
3. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — B. De., p. 139.
4. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. II — Briggs, p. 183.
   Akbarnama, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 28.
   Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. II, p. 7.
5. *Akbarnama*, Vol. I — Beveridge, p. 658.
6. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, pp. 28-31.
7. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — B. De., p. 210.
   Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II — Briggs, pp. 182, 183.
8. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 29.
   Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., pp. 210, 211.
9. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 26.
10. *History of the Panjab Hill States*, Vols. I & II — H. & Vogel, pp. 137, 200, 212, 222, 297, 352, 450, 479, 499.
    Akbarnama, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 35.
11. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II — W. H. Lowe, p. 7.
    Akbarnama, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 50.
    Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II — Briggs, pp. 185, 186.
    Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., pp. 213, 214.
12. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — B. De., p. 215.
13. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 50.
14. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II — W. H. Lowe, p. 7.
15. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — B. De., pp. 215-17.
    Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. III — W. H. Lowe, p. 7.

16. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — B. De., p. 218.
Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. II — Briggs, p. 186.
17. *Akbarnama*, Vol. I — Beveridge, pp. 58-65.
18. *Akbar the Great Moghul* — V. A. Smith, p. 38.
19. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, pp. 58-65.
Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. II — W. H. Lowe, pp. 6-9.
Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., p. 219.
20. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II — W. H. Lowe, p. 8.
Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., p. 220.
Akbarnama, Vol. II — Beveridge, pp. 65-68.
Akbar the Great Moghul — Smith, pp. 36, 37.
21. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, pp. 47, 48.
22. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II — W. H. Lowe, pp. 10-12.
Akbarnama, Vol. II, Text, p. 48.
Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I — Blochman, p. 335.
23. About35 miles north-east of Lahore.
24. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarrett-Sarkar, p. 320.
Akbarnama, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 49.
Headquarters of the Tehsil of the same name in Hoshiarpur District.
25. Thirtyseven miles west of Dharamsala on the road to Pathankot.
26. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II — W. H. Lowe, p. 11.
27. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, pp. 76-79.
28. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — B. De., pp. 222, 223.
29. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 91.
30. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — B. De., pp. 224, 225.
31. *History of the Panjab Hill States* — H. & Vogel, pp. 223, 224.
History of India, Vol. V — Elliot and Dowson, p. 96.
32. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 402, 403.
33. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol. II — Briggs, pp. 199-202.
34. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — B. De., pp. 488, 489.
35. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II — W. H. Lowe, p. 185.
Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., p. 238.
36. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, p. 330.
37. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 152.
38. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Blochman, p. 342.
39. Thirty-five miles west of Delhi.
40. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III — Blochman, p. 591.
Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., p. 243.
41. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 166.
42. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Blochman, p. 591.
43. Sixteen miles south of Okara, on the old high bank of the Beas.
44. Fort of Tihara is situated on the bank of the Satlej, to the west of Ludhiana (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, p. 140).
45. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 169.
46. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, p. 338.
47. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, pp. 169, 170.
Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. I — B. De., pp. 245, 246.
48. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 120. (This is a very old village, two miles to the south of Banga in Nawanshahar Tehsil of Jullundur District).
Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I — Blochman, p. 332.
49. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — B. De., p. 246.
50. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 171.
51. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, pp. 171, 172.
52. Akbar lavished favours on Atka Khan and made over the choicest parts of the Panjāb to him and his brother (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, p. 338).
53. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — B. De., p. 248.
54. "Gobind Chand", says Badauni.

55. It is situated on Makerian and Ramgarh road in Hoshiarpur District. (*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II — W. H. Lowe, p. 38).
56. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, p. 417.
57. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 332.
58. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 332, 417.
Muntakhab-ut- Tawarikh, Vol. II — Lowe, p. 139.
Akbarnama, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 179.
Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II — Blochman, p. 544.
59. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 187.
Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. II — W. H. Lowe, pp. 39, 40.
60. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 274, 337, 338.
Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., pp. 245, 257.
The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire — Ibn Hasan, pp. 125-27.
Akbar the Great Mughal — Smith, pp. 20, 55, 69, 97.
61. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 338, 339.
62. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — B. De., p. 290.
63. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 519-25.
Akbarnama, Vol. II — Beveridge, pp. 410, 411.
64. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beverdige, p. 410.
65. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 411.
66. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 338, 339.
67. *Ibid.* pp. 161, 214, 348-50.
Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., pp. 98, 116.
68. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II — Lowe, p. 161.
Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I — Blochman, p. 349.
69. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II — Lowe, pp. 116, 117.
70. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 103.
71. *The Oriental Biographical Dictionary* — T. W. Beale, p. 73.
72. *History of the Panjab Hills States*, Vol. I, — H. & Vogel, p. 199.
Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., p. 400.
73. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. I — Lowe, pp. 165-67.
74. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II — Lowe, p. 267.
Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., p. 402.
75. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II — Lowe, p. 167.
76. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — B. De., p. 402.
Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. II — Lowe, p. 167.
Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I — Blochman, p. 349.
77. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — B. De., p. 402.
Akbarnama, Vol. III — Beveridge, pp. 36, 37.
He built the cupola of a lofty mosque over the gateway of Raja Bidhi Chand's palace (*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II — Lowe, p. 167).
78. *Ibid.*
79. *Akbar the Great Mughal* — Smith, pp. 116, 117.
80. Ibrahim Husain Mirza was the son of Muhammad Sultan Mirza who was a descendant of Timur. (*Akbarnama*, Vol. III — Beveridge, p. 48).
Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 513, 514.
81. *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — B. De., pp. 396, 397.
Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. II — Lowe, p. 161.
Cambridge History of India, Vol. IV, p. 108.
82. *Akbar the Great Moghul* — Smith, p. 190.
83. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 544.
Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., p. 322.
84. *Akbar the Great Moghul* — Smith, p. 186.
The Cambridge History of India: Vol. V, p. 125.
Tabqat-i-Akbari; Vol. II B. De, p. 322
85. *Tabqat-i-Akbari:* Vol. II B. De, p. 321, 322.
86. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II — Ranking, p. 299.
87. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III — Beveridge, p. 493.

88. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II — Lowe, p. 166.
Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. I — B. De., p. 544.
89. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III — Beveridge, p. 494.
90. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III — Beveridge, p. 507.
91. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III — Beveridge, p. 511.
92. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II — Lowe, p. 300.
History of India, Vol. V — Elliot and Dawson, p. 422.
93. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II — Lowe, pp. 300, 301.
"Khwaja Shah Mansur was hanged on a tree near the Sarai of Kot Kachwaha which is a village on the road from Karnal to Ludhiana". (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Blochman, p. 477).
94. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 476, 477.
Akbarnama, Vol. III — Beveridge, p. 502.
Commentary by Monserate — J. S. Hoyland, p. 77.
95. Four miles to the west from Chawa-Pael railway station in Ludhiana District.
96. *Commentary by Monserate* — J. S. Hoyland, p. 102.
97. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II — Lowe, p. 301.
98. *Commentary of Monserate* — J. S. Hoyland, pp. 109-15.
99. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III — Beveridge, pp. 539-47.
100. *Akbar the Great Moghul* — Smith, pp. 231-50.
Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., pp. 620-50.
101. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 393-95, 452, 550, 569.
Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., pp. 533, 602, 606.
102. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 367-69.
Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., pp. 608-13.
103. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, pp. 1196-1207.
Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 35, 380-82.
Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., p. 638.
Maasir-ul-Umera, Vol. I — Shah Nawaz Khan (Cal. Ed. 1885), p. 435.

CHAPTER V

PANJAB UNDER JAHANGIR—1605-1627

REBELLION OF KHUSRAU

Within a few months of Jahangir's accession occurred the rebellion of his eldest son Khusrau. The Emperor had forgiven him for his past conduct on the intercession of Khusrau's maternal uncle Raja Man Singh of Amber. But the Emperor had confined the Prince in one corner of the fort of Agra, soon after Man Singh's departure for Bengal on an expedition. The Prince had not forgotten the prospects of his succession to his grandfather's throne, owing to the support of his powerful nobles. Besides, he could not reconcile himself to the indignity to which he was now subjected to as a state prisoner. He planned to set himself free and to make a bid for the throne which had once been almost within his grasp. On the pretext of riding on a visit to the tomb of Akbar, a few miles from Agra, he slipped out of the fort in the evening of April 6, 1606, with three hundred and fifty horses. Hastening northward, he was joined on the way by Hussain Beg Badakhshi, at the head of three hundred horses, and soon his followers swelled to twelve thousand. He further intercepted an imperial convoy of one lakh rupees.[1]

Plundering the country around and seizing all available horses, Khusrau rushed on to Lahore. At night his troops quartered themselves on the poor villages, or lay down in the open fields where jackals licked their feet. Speeding past Delhi, burning the Sarai of Narela,[2] on the way, they were joined by Abdur Rahim Dewan of Lahore, who, like Hussain Beg, was on his way to the court. Khusrau invested him with the title of Anwar Khan and made him a Vazir.[3]

En route to Lahore, Khusrau reached Tarn Taran[4] where he sought and obtained the blessings of Guru Arjan. He represented himself as a distressed and forlorn individual.[5] From Tarn Taran he marched to Lahore, which was fully guarded by Dilawar Khan, who had repaired the ramparts and towers of the fort, mounted cannons and swivel guns.[6]

Khusrau's raw levies far outnumbered the royal soldiers within the fort. To encourage them, Khusrau announced that, after taking the fort, he would allow them to plunder the city for seven days. When the siege had lasted nine days, news of the approach of the royal army reached Khusrau. Feeling desperate, he made up his mind to face the imperial forces at the river Beas, before it reached Lahore. With a view to make a

night attack on the vanguard of the royal army, Khusrau left Lahore with his ten to twelve thousand horsemen.[7]

On the other hand, the royal troops under Shaikh Farid Bokhari had crossed the river Beas, at the ferry of Goindwal, in pursuit of the rebels. Emperor Jahangir was at this time at Sarai Qazi, where he was informed about the impending battle between the rival armies. Although it rained heavily at night, Jahangir continued his march to Sultanpur, reaching and halting there at noon. Thus the stage was set for a trial of strength between the two armies.

BATTLE OF BHAIROWAL

In this battle, which took place at Bhairowal,[8] Shaikh Farid Bokhari fought with all his might and main. Under his daring command the imperialists raised the battle cry of 'Padshah Salamat' (God save the King) and charged. The engagement was short, bloody and decisive. The rebels gave up fighting and fled from the battlefield. Four hundred Badakhshis and a number of other less renowned rebels lay slain on the field. Among the survivors all was confusion and plea for submission. Several hundreds fell into the hands of the imperialists. Khusrau's box of jewels and precious possessions, which he always kept with him, fell into the hands of his enemies.[9] The rest of the spoils of Khusrau came into the hands of the royal army, which thus gained a notable victory. When Jahangir reached Bhairowal, he named the place of the battle 'Fatehpur', the place of victory.[10]

Prince Khusrau escaped with Hussain Beg and Abdur Rahim from the battle-ground. The deserted rebels were divided in their opinion as to the future course of action. The majority of the Indians, whose families resided in this country, urged the advisability of going towards Agra. This was opposed by Hussain Beg, who argued in favour of proceeding to Kabul. He offered to place his hoard of four lakh rupees, which he had kept in the fort of Rohtās, at the disposal of his confederates if his advice was heeded. He confidently hoped to raise ten or twelve thousand Mughal horse, which would enable them to entrench themselves strongly at Kabul and eventually attempt a bold *coup de main* on India,[11] Kabul being invariably the base for the conquest of India by Babar, Humayun and other successful invaders of India.

Abdur Rahim stopped at Lahore but the Prince and Hussain Beg Badakhshi crossed the river Ravi on their way to the fort of Rohtas. Raja Basu[12] a trustworthy chief of Mau[13] was asked by Jahangir to pursue the Prince and to capture him. Mahabat Khan and Mirza Ali Akbar were aslo detailed to help the Raja with a large force.[14] The ferries all over the rivers of the Panjāb

had been forbidden to ply any traffic without proper check long before Khusrau's defeat at Bhairowal, so as to prevent the escape of the rebels after their defeat. Warning had also been given to all the Jagirdars and the Superintendents of roads, crossings and ferries. Hussain Beg wished to convey Khusrau across the river Chenab; but at that time Kilan, son-in-law of Kamal Chaudhari of Sodhora,[15] arrived and detected them. He cried out to the boatmen and warned them to be careful. Owing to the noise and uproar, the people of the neighbourhood gathered together. Kilan took away the oars from the boatmen and thus made the boats of no avail. Khusrau was captured by Abul Qasim Nankin, and the news of the capture of Khusrau was communicated to Jahangir, who at that time was encamped at Lahore in the garden of Mirza Kamran.[16]

On April 29, 1606, in Mirza Kamran's garden at Lahorey the defeated rebel son, with hands tied and chains on his legs was conducted to the presence of the Emperor. Hussain Beg Badakhshi stood on his right, while Abdur Rahim on his left; Khusrau stood weeping and trembling between them. The Emperor witnessed the scene seated in the royal pavillion built by his father. To punish the rebels, Jahangir is said to have told : "I handed over Khusrau in chains and ordered those two villains to be put respectively in skins of an ox and an ass and that they should be mounted on asses with their faces to the tail and thus taken round the city."[17] A bullock and an ass were slaughtered on the spot and orders of Jahangir carried out to the letter. Horns and ears were left on the skins of the two slaughtered animals.[18]

As the hide of an ox dries more quickly than that of the skin of an ass, Hussain Beg Badakhshi remained alive for twelve hours but died of suffocation after that. Abdur Rahim[19] who was sewn in the ass's skin, and to whom some refreshment from outside was also administered, remained alive.[20] Hussain Beg died in most excruciating pain. "For good government I ordered posts to be set up on both sides of the road from Mirza Kamran's garden to the city, and ordered them to hang up and impale the seditious keen supporters and others who had taken part in the rebellion. Thus each of them received an extraordinary punishment. I gave headship to those Jagirdars who had shown loyalty and to every one of the Chaudharies between the Jhelum and the Chenab, I gave lands for their maintenance."[21] Khusrau, deeply dejected, with tears and groans, was slowly conducted on an elephant along the ghastly avenue and a mace bearer, with mock dignity, calling out to him to receive the salutations of his followers. His life was spared, but he was kept in close confinement.[22]

Jahangir considered Guru Arjan guilty of supporting the rebel Prince, as he had bestowed benedictions on Khusrau while he was on his way from Agra to Lahore. Jahangir imposed on the Guru a fine of two lakh rupees, which the latter refused to pay. The Guru was consequently put to death.[23] His sons and property were made over to Murtaza Khan (Shaikh Farid). These events are detailed in the chapter entitled "The Sikhs and the Great Mughals.

There were two more Hindus, Raju and Amba, who were also punished by the Emperor. Jahangir said : "Under the shadow of the protection of the eunuch Daulat Khan, they made their livelihood by tyranny and committed many acts of oppression when Khusrau was near Lahore. I ordered Raju to the gallows and a fine to be taken from Amba who was reputed to be wealthy. In short, fifteen thousand rupees were collected from him."[24]

Shaikh Farid was given Bhairowal as a Jagir, by way of reward for his services. He was given the title of Murtza Khan. The Chaudharies, who had helped the Emperor, were also given Jagirs.[25]

END OF KHUSRAU

Jahangir himself is completely silent in his memoirs about the matter of Khusrau's tragic fate, nor does the court historian, Motamad Khan refer to it. There can, however, be no doubt that the Prince was blinded, though not completely and irremediably. "The Prince was blinded on the former battlefield (Goindwal) by moistening his eyes with a certain juice resembling the sap of certain peas."[26] "Still remaineth, still in prison in the King's palace, yet blind as all men report and was so commanded to be blinded by his father."[27] William Finch, who travelled in 1610-1611, reports two traditions current about the blinding. The Emperor, when he returned to the place where the battle was fought at Bhairowal (as some say), caused his eyes to be burnt out with a glass. Others say, "Only blind-folded him with a napkin, tying it behind and sealing it with his own seal, which yet remaineth, and himself prisoner in the castle of Agra. He learnt that Khusrau's eyes were sewn up, but that Jahangir caused them to be unripped again so that he was not blinded but saw again and it was only a temporary penance."[28] There is yet another myth to the effect that Katories (small cups) were fastened on the eyes so that the Prince, when these were taken off, could see again.

Jahangir resumed his march and after a short stay at Lahore reached Agra on March 22, 1608. Khusrau was confined in the palace and was closely guarded; but Jahangir was inclined

towards him and called the physicians to restore his sight. Hakim Sudra of Irab is said to have healed one of the eyes, while the vision of the other eye could not be restored fully.

Jahangir appointed Shaikh Farid Bokhari as the governor of the Panjāb with the title of Murtza Khan, on September 21, 1610, in place of Dilawar Khan. Jahangir wanted a strong and experienced man to govern the Panjāb and he felt that Murtza Khan,[29] who governed the Panjāb for six years, was the right person for this onerous post. During the first year of his regime, plague, a dreadful scourge, broke out in Lahore. The whole of the Panjāb, the Suba of Sirhind and the Yamuna Doab were engulfed by the epidemic. Thousands of villages were badly affected by the disease, which spread like a wild fire. Another important event of his time is the expedition to Kangra.

EXPEDITION OF NAGARKOT (KANGRA)

Tilok Chand was the Raja of Kāngra[30] when Jahangir ascended to the throne. Among the Panjāb hill states at that time, it occupied a prominent position and, being proud of its strong mountainous situation, the Raja did not submit to the Emperor. The fort of Kangra was well-protected by a number of mountain fastnesses and was regarded as one of the strongest forts in the Panjāb. It was even then regarded as so old that no one could tell the year when it was built.

Jahangir had commissioned Murtza Khan,[31] the governor of the Panjāb, to capture the fort. Raja Suraj Mal,[32] son of Raja Basu of the Nurpur State (Mau), was appointed as second-in-command to assist Murtza Khan.[33] The Raja did not want that Kangra should be annexed to the Mughal Empire. On the contrary he wished to fish in the troubled waters and during the military engagement he stood in the way of Murtza Khan who was just in sight of victory. Murtza Khan divined the Raja's double game and accordingly reported the matter to the Emperor. But Raja Suraj Mal had great influence on Prince Khurram and was too clever for Murtza Khan. He explained his position before the Prince and also accused Murtza Khan of having certain personal interests. Thus, the matter was hushed up[34] before it came to the notice of Jahangir. Not much after, Murtza Khan died by a stroke of palsy, in 1616,[35] at Pathankot, and the operation was suspended for the time being.

SADIQ KHAN—1616-1624

After the death of Murtza Khan, Sadiq Khan was appointed the governor of the Punjāb in 1616. His Mansab was raised and he was also given an elephant. The conquest of Kangra

took place in his time, though he did not play much part in the ultimate victory of the fort of Kangra. It was in 1622 that he was commissioned along with Khwaja Abdul Hussain, the Dewan, to expedite the convurging of forces from all directions on Qandhar.[36] However, the most important event in the history of the Panjāb which occurred in his time, was the fall of the Kangra fort. This was primarily due to the mutual jealousies of Rajput Chiefs of the Mughal Court, the principal immediate reason being the defection of Raja Suraj Mal of Nurpur, the details of which follow.[37]

The return of Raja Suraj Mal from the Deccan in 1619 again prompted Jahangir to conquer Kangra. On the recommendation of Shah Jahan, Raja Suraj Mal was given the supreme command of the expedition.[38] Shah Quli Khan (Muhammad Taqi) was also sent with a large number of soldiers and Ahidis to help the Raja. Raja Suraj Mal, however, did not like that any loyal servant of the Mughals should accompany him on this expedition, for his designs were to plunder the country and not to subdue it.[39] He wanted to conquer the fort, but did not want to bring it within the suzerainty of the Mughal Empire. Under these circumstances, he did not care much about the reduction of the fort of Kangra.

Raja Bikramjit,[40] who was a veteran and a loyal general, had already been sent to Kangra to besiege the fort after the recall of Shah Quli. Raja Jagat Singh, Raja Suraj Mal's brother and his old rival, was recalled from Bengal by the Emperor and sent to join Bikramjit to achieve the conquest of Kangra. Raja Jagat Singh was promised the grant of his brother's territory provided he remained loyal to the court. Shah Jahan was appointed the over-all incharge of this expedition. Abdul Azziz Koka was also sent to help him. Hearing about this well-planned combination, Raja Suraj Mal was disheartened and had to change the idea of plundering the country. But he did not like to give way without resistance.[41]

After a little skirmish, Raja Suraj Mal slipped away and, passing through Pathankot,[42] came to the strong fort of Nurpur and prepared to fight.[43] But pursuing him dauntlessly, Raja Bikramjit besieged the fort of Nurpur and subdued it. Suraj Mal had to flee to Taragarh and from there to Chamba, for Bikramjit was hot on his heels and about one thousand soldiers of Suraj Mal had already been killed. When the news of the defeat of Raja Suraj Mal reached Jahangir he conferred great honour upon Raja Bikramjit and orders were also given to demolish the forts of Suraj Mal. Bikramjit returned to Nurpur and conquered the forts of Hara, Pahari, Jehtaha, Policetas, Surad and Jawali, all situated in the vicinity of Nurpur.[44]

REVOLT OF MADHO SINGH

Madho Singh, the brother of Raja Suraj Mal, also rose in rebellion but was subdued though with some difficulty.[45] Suraj Mal had taken refuge with the Raja of Chamba. Raja Bikramjit sent orders to the Raja of Chamba to surrender Suraj Mal and his property. The Raja delayed the surrender and Bikramjit moved to fight against him. In the meantime, Suraj Mal, broken-hearted, fell prey to a fatal disease and died. Hearing this Raja Bikramjit once again asked the Raja of Chamba[46] to surrender the property of Raja Suraj Mal. Pressed as he was, he had to surrender unconditionally the entire property of Suraj Mal including fourteen elephants and two hundred horses to Bikramjit.

Now Bikramjit became the master of many forts. He established his own police stations in order to keep order and peace. The forts and the buildings erected by Raja Basu and Suraj Mal were razed to the ground. Jagat Singh, brother of the late chief, was installed in his place and a rank of one thousand Zat and five hundred Sawars was confered on him on the understanding that he would co-operate with Raja Bikramjit in the conquest of Kangra.[47] The loyal servants of the Emperor were given Jagirs in these Parganas.[48]

SIEGE OF KANGRA

After subduing the State of Nurpur, Raja Bikramjit concentrated his attention on the important project of conquering Kangra.[49] The fort was besieged from all sides and all roads were closed to prevent provisions from being brought in,[50] and batteries were installed all around. The siege continued for four months. Finally a breach was made in the fort after a very furious attack.[51] Hundreds of the besieged were killed. Starvation set in and no relief was possible from any quarter. The fort was captured on November 16, 1620, and the imperialists triumphantly entered the fort.[52] Abdul Azziz Khan Naqash Bandi,[53] was made the Faujdar of Kangra an his Mansab was raised to two thousand personel and fifteen hundred horse.

The Emperor was very eager to pay visit to the newly conquered fort, often styled as impregnable. No Muslim sovereign of India, not even Akbar, could achieve what was accomplished by Jahangir. He visited the fort of Kangra in the company of a number of orthodox Muslim divines and the Chief Qazi. He ordered all ceremonies to be carried out according to Islamic law in order to mark the unprecedented victory. The Khutba was read in the name of Jahangir. A bull was slaughtered in

the fort for the first time and an order was issued for a mosque to be built within the fort.[54]

This ritualistic display was uncalled for and unnecessary. It was a passing freak of Jahangir's mind and an isolated event which was by no means indicative of any change in the general policy of toleration followed by him. Jahangir then visited the Durga temple of Kangra and Jwala Mukhi. A royal building was ordered to be constructed there. The next place visited by the Emperor on that occasion was Koh-i-Madar or the hill which was used as the churn for gods. Next day Jahangir left for Lahore.[55]

ASAF KHAN — 1624-1628

Asaf Khan, Yumin-ud-Dowla, brother of Nur Jahan, was appointed the governor of the Panjāb in 1624, in succession to Sadiq Khan, who was assigned to conduct the operations in the Frontier Province. The Panjāb prospered under the munificent administration of Asaf Khan, and his taste for architecture tended much to embellish Lahore city. But Jahangir's end was near. Asaf Khan's last days were embittered by the treason of his sister, Nur Jahan. She began to concoct plans for usurping the empire and advancing the interests of her own son-in-law, Shaharyar, a good for nothing fellow, to the deprivation of Shah Jahan, the rightful heir to the throne. Shah Jahan's Jagirs in Hissar and in the Doab were confiscated and made over to Shaharyar and the Prince was told to select equivalent estates in the Deccan and Gujarat. This state of affairs drove the Panjāb, into constant revolts for about five to six years. The subsequent history of the Panjāb under Asaf Khan is the *coup de main* of Mahabat Khan, the events of which are narrated in detail below :

MAHABAT KHAN'S COUP DE MAIN

Mahabat Khan was one of the most important nobles of Jahangir. An Afghan by birth, he held a rank of only five hundred in the beginning of Jahangir's reign. He was rapidly promoted to higher ranks for rendering conspicuous services to the Emperor, specially in suppressing the rebellion of Shah Jahan. But his success excited the jealousy of Nur Jahan and her brother Asaf Khan. Nur Jahan had been humiliating[56] him very much, but the cup of his humiliation was filled to over-flowing when his son-in-low Barkhurdar Khan was beaten up and sent to prison. The dowry which Mahabat Khan haa given to him was confiscated on the charge that the marriage had been performed without the royal permission, in contravention of the

existing custom. It was also strongly rumoured that Asaf Khan was planning the arrest of Mahabat Khan. Nur Jahan prevailed upon the Emperor to send for Mahabat Khan to come to Lahore, where Jahangir was encamped. When the orders reached Mahabat Khan in Behar, he realised that he was no more safe and became very desperate.[57] He took five thousand selected Rajputs with him and left for Lahore to see the Emperor.

When Mahabat Khan arrived on the other side of the river, the Emperor, on his way to Kabul, had just crossed the Chenab. Mahabat Khan crossed the river against the royal order not to do so, and to leave his men behind and to present himself at the court only with his household.[58] Following the royal camp Mahabat Khan looked for an opportunity to have audience with the Emperor.

One day when the imperial cortege had crossed over to the other side of the river Jhelum and the Emperor was yet on this side, Mahabat Khan forced his way to the Emperor and prostrating himself before him said : "Being driven to despair and fearing utter disgrace from Asaf Khan, he had thrown himself under the protection of the Emperor; if he found him unworthy of his service, he might put him to death."[59] Jahangir was taken by surprise when he found that the camp was in the possession of Mahabat Khan's man. Mahabat Khan then suggested that if the Emperor was to ride out with him for a hunt, people would take that his action was quite according to the wishes and orders of His Majesty. The Emperor had to quietly agree, and was taken to Mahabat's camp.

In the excitement of his extraordinary daring,[60] Mahabat Khan neglected to take Nur Jahan into custody. When he realised his mistake he came back to the royal camp, but found that she had gone over to the other side with Prince Shaharyar.[61]

Nur Jahan was a lady of great sagacity and courage. The unusual behaviour of an officer had certainly annoyed her, but the main problem before her was to rescue her husband without endangering his life and the dignity of the Crown. She summoned all the chief nobles, including Asaf Khan. Rebuking them for their negligence and mismanagement which had brought shame upon all, she commanded them to retrieve their honour by rescuing the Emperor. It was unanimously resolved by the council that next morning the whole army should be drawn out in embattled array, cross the river and attack Mahabat Khan.[62]

When Jahangir came to know of this plan, he experssed his disapproval, as it might lead to a bloody conflict and even endanger his life. But no heed was paid to his advice and the plan was executed on the morning of March 11, 1626,[63] Nur Jahan herself mounting an elephant and watching the movements of

her soldiers. Unluckily, the ford which they selected for crossing was one of the worst of its kind and was at places quite deep. While attempting to ford the river all order was lost and confusion followed. Mahabat Khan's men, who were holding the other bank of the river Jhelum, took advantage of it, and made a counter attack before the royal soldiers and officers were able to complete the crossing. The royalists were thrown into utter disarray and helplessness; quite a large number of them were killed and many more were drowned. The elephant of Nur Jahan fled; Asaf Khan took to his heels and the royalist move ended disastrously.[64]

Asaf Khan fled precipitately for his life and took shelter in the fort of Attock. Fidai Khan, who had almost reached the camp of Jahangir, had to beat a hasty retreat and seek protection in the fort of Rohtas. The royalists having been scattered, further resistance was out of the question. Nur Jahan, threrefore, surrendered herself and was allowed by Mahabat Khan to live with the Emperor.[65]

With his mind at rest, Mahabat Khan sent his son Bihroz to Attock, and himself marched slowly towards Kabul in the train of the Emperor. Unable to defend the fort, Asaf Khan offered submission and was placed in custody. Mahabat Khan moved on and reached Kabul in May 1626, taking the Emperor, the Empress and the ex-minister with him. The life at the Court seemed to be normal.[66]

Mahabat Khan might have been afraid of dire consequences or he might have been swayed by a generous, high-minded impulse. Be that as it may, he merely confined himself to keeping their Majesties and Asaf Khan under reasonable watch. He did not meddle much with the administration, except probably in the appointment of a few supporters. He left almost complete freedom to the Emperor, who held Darbars, received an embassy from Turan and went out for hunting. It seems that Mahabat Khan had no greater ambition than the removal of the Emperor from the vicious influences of his opponents and reconciling him to his own interest. But Nur Jahan felt it beneath the dignity of the Crown to remain in a sort of tutelage to a Mansabdar. Nur Jahan tried to undermine his power and plotted with the discontented officers. Yet Mahabat Khan did not at all interfere with her liberty nor did he allow himself to lose his temper or self control, even when being provoked.

Mahabat Khan's supremacy was now complete. He took charge of the administration, appointed his own men to key positions and took steps to put down the partisans of Nur Jahan. After about two month's stay the Emperor proceeded to Kabul, reconciling himself outwardly to Mahabat's domination. The

imperial cortege resumed its march from Atfock and reached Kabul in May 1626.[67]

Nur Jahan tried every possible means to shake off Mahabat Khan's hold and deliver her brother from his custody. She found her opportunity in the growing unpopularity of Mahabat Khan, which was due not so much to his own abuse of power as to the influence which the Rajputs exercised over him and the jealousy of other officials. Mahabat Khan seems to have been singularly devoid of tact and sociability; for, instead of securing sympathy and support for his cause, he was being rapidly isolated. Mahabat Khan was, by and large a soldier and diplomat, but no statesman or even an administrator. His favourites mismanaged the affairs entrusted to them and caused resentment among the people. At Kabul there was a quarrel between his Rajput troops and a section of the royal force called the Ahadis[68] on the trifling question of grazing their horses and in the struggle that followed eight to nine hundred Rajputs were killed by the Muslims, who staged a rising because of their dislike for the Hindu Rajputs. The incident, though petty, had far-reaching consequences, for it ended in the loss of several hundred of the best Rajput fighters in the service of Mahabat Khan and made him more unpopular.[69]

It was about this time that news arrived that Shah Jahan had left the Deccan and was moving towards the capital. The imperial camp, therefore, left Kabul for India and orders were given to raise fresh troops. This was the opportunity for Nur Jahan. She had already exploited the unpopularity of Mahabat Khan. By means of bribes and promises of favours she won over a good many officers to her side and raised troops which would stand by her. In Lahore a couple of thousand soldiers were recruited in her name and instructions were issued to them to join the Royal camp. Mahabat Khan, however, did not show any sign of agitation or anxiety, for the Emperor had led him to believe that he was quite reconciled to him. The astute Asaf Khan must have felt quite amused and satisfied with the developments which were in his favour though sponsored by his sister.[70]

By the time the imperial cortege reached Rohtas, Nur Jahan found her position strong enough to take the offensive, and the position of Mahabat Khan proportionately weakened. The Emperor began by expressing his wish to hold a review[71] of his cavalry and asking Mahabat Khan not to come or bring his men lest some disturbance should arise. Shortly after, another order was issued that Mahabat Khan should move a stage ahead, which in plain language amounted to an order to leave the Royal camp.

The general, who felt the ground slipping from under his feet, complied. Under the pretence of reviewing the troops, Jahangir placed himself at the head of the imperial army, and

Mahabat Khan, feeling that his domination was at an end, left the place for Lahore. Thus Jahangir regained his liberty on the bank of the river Jhelum where he had lost it a few months[72] before.

Mahabat Khan fled precipitately towards Thatta, taking Asaf Khan and the sons of Daniyal with him. In doing so, Mahabat Khan had no other motive except his personal safety; for, as soon as he found himself at a distance from the imperial camp, he allowed all of them to go back and join the Emperor. Thus ended the dramatic *coup d'etat* of Mahabat Khan of one hundred days. Asaf Khan was again free to sway the destinies of the empire, while the Empress had the satisfaction of freeing the Emperor and her brother. She did not quite realize that her confidence in her brother was utterly misplaced, and unwittingly she had sown trouble for herself.

The imperial cortege arrived at Lahore, and the organization of the administration was taken in hand. The difficult task was entrusted to Asaf Khan, who was appointed Vakil. He was also made the governor of the Panjāb with Abdul Hassan as his Dewan. Mir Jumla was appointed Bakhshi, being succeeded in the office of steward by Afzal Khan, who had rendered valuable services during the recent troubles.[73]

NOTES

1. *Memoires of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R&B pp. 52-59.
   Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, Text, pp. 7-9.
2. Eight and a half miles NNW of Delhi (*India of Aurangzeb* — J. N Sarkar, p. XCVIII).
3. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R&B, pp. 55-59.
   Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, Text, pp. 9, 10.
   History of India, Vol. II — Elliot and Dowson, p. 448.
4. Fifteen miles south of Amritsar. The town was built by Arjan, the 5th Guru of the Sikhs.
5. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. II — R&B, pp. 61, 72.
   Dabistan-i-Mazahib, Vol. II — David Shea, p. 273.
   Suraj Parkash, Vol. II, p. 2343.
6. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R&B, p. 62.
7. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R&B, p. 63.
   History of India, Vol. I — Gladwin, p. 7.
   Ma'asir-ul-Umera, Vol. I — Beveridge, p. 488.
8. *Empire of the Great Mughal* — De Laet (Hoyland), pp. 175, 176.
9. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 425-30.
   Memoirs of Jahangir, Vol. I — R&B, pp. 64, 65.
10. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R&B, pp. 64, 65.
    Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, Text, p. 11.
    Ma'asir-ul-Umera, Vol. I — Beveridge, p. 251.
11. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R&B, pp. 64, 65.
    Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, Text, pp. 13, 14.
12. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 369, 495, 508.
13. Nurpur, 37 miles west of Dharmsala on the road to Pathankot.
    History of the Panjab Hill States — H. & Vogel, p. 225.
    Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 369, 495.

14. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R&B, p. 65.
15. Sodhora is an ancient town, about five miles to the east of Wazirabad and lies on the Chenab River (*Gujranwala District Gazetteer*, p. 354).
16. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R&B, p. 68.
Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, Text, pp. 13, 14.
17. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R&B, pp. 69, 73.
18. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R&B, p. 68.
Iqbalnama-i-Jahangir, Text, p. 16.
Journal of the Panjab Historical Society, Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 56, 57.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 69.
20. *Iqbalnama*, Vol. I — Mutamad Khan, Text, p. 17.
21. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R&B, pp. 68, 69.
22. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R&B, pp. 67-70.
The Journal of the Panjab Historical Society, Vol. VIII, No. 1, p. 57.
23. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R&B, pp. 72, 73.
The Sikh Religion, Vol. II — Macauliffe, pp. 253-58.
Transformation of Sikhism — Narang, pp. 31-41.
24. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R&B, p. 73.
25. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R&B, p. 69.
26. *Father Hosten : Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, p. 56.
27. *The Hawkin's Voyages*, p. 428.
28. Parchas IV Dela Velle (*Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 56).
29. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 454-57.
30. *History of the Panjab Hill States*, Vol. I — H. & Vogel, pp. 107-11.
31. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R&B, p. 148.
Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 345, 346, 455, 456.
32. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R&B, p. 148.
33. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R&B, pp. 148, 149.
34. *Ma'asir-ul-Umera*,Text, p. 247.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 319.
36. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R&B, pp. 233, 234.
History of Jahangir — Beni Prasad, pp. 297, 317, 353.
37. *The Oriental Biographical Dictionary* — T. W. Beale, p. 228.
38. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. II — R&B, p. 45.
39. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. II — R&B, p. 56.
40. *The Oriental Biographical Dictionary* — Beale, pp. 217, 218.
41. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. II — R&B, p. 73.
42. Once the capital of a Rajput State. It is situated at the foot of the hills, 22 miles from Gurdaspur (*The Land of the Five Rivers* — D. Rose, p. 203).
43. The fort of Mau was one of the strongest forts in those days, in that part of the country. (*History of India*, Vol. VI — Elliot and Dowson pp. 520, 521).
44. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. II — R&B, p. 75.
45. *History of the Panjab Hill States*, Vol. I — H. & Vogel, p. 232.
46. *History of the Panjab Hill States*, Vol. I — H. & Vogel, p. 520.
47. *Ma'asir-ul-Umera*, Vol. I — Beveridge, pp. 413, 414.
48. *History of India*, Vol. VI — Elliot and Dowson, p. 520.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 524.
Memoirs of Jahangir, Vol. II — R&B, p. 186.
50. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. II — R&B, p. 185.
51. *Fateh Kangra*, Vol. VI — Elliot and Dowson pp. 525, 526
52. *Iqbalnama* — Motamad Khan, p. 120.
Memoirs of Jahangir, Vol. II — R&B, p. 185.
53. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. II — R&B, p. 230.
54. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, Text, pp. 92, 93.
Memoirs of Jahangir, Vol. II — R&B, p. 223.
Fateh Kangra, Vol. VI — Elliot and Dowson, pp. 524-27.
55. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. II — R&B, p. 225.

56. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, Text, p. 176.
Empire of the Great Mughal — De Laet (Hoyland), p. 222.
57. *Empire of the Great Mughal* — De Laet (Hoyland), pp. 222, 223.
58. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, Text, p. 176.
Empire of the Great Mughal — De Laet (Hoyland), p. 223.
59. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangir*, Text, p. 176.
History of Jahangir — Beni Prasad (1962), p. 371.
60. *History of Jahangir* — Beni Prasad, p. 372.
61. *History of India*, Vol. VI — Elliot and Dowson, pp. 420-24.
History of Hindustan, Vol. I — Gladwin (1788), pp. 80-82.
Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Vol. I — Khafi Khan, p. 356.
62. *Ibqalnama-i-Jahangiri*, Text, pp. 180, 181.
63. *History of India*, Vol. VI — Elliot and Dowson, pp. 423, 424.
Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Vol. I — Khafi Khan, p. 366.
History of Hindustan, Vol. I — Gladwin, pp. 81, 82.
64. *History of India*, Vol. VI — Elliot and Dowson, pp. 425, 426.
Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, Text, pp. 182, 183.
65. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, Text, p. 185.
Empire of the Great Mughal — De Laet (Hoyland), p. 227.
66. *History of India*, Vol. VI — Elliot and Dowson, p. 428.
Muntakhab-ul-Luhab, Vol. I — Khafi Khan, p. 373.
67. *History of India*, Vol. VI — Elliot and Dowson, p. 428.
Ma'asir-ul-Umera, Vol. I — Beveridge, pp. 573, 574.
68. *History of Jahangir* — Beni Prasad, pp. 380, 382.
69. *History of India*, Vol. VI — Elliot and Dowson, p. 428.
History of Hindustan, Vol. I — Gladwin, pp. 84, 85.
70. *History of India*, Vol. VI — Elliot and Dowson, pp. 429, 430.
Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Vol. I — Khafi Khan, pp. 374, 376.
History of Hindustan, Vol. I — Gladwin, p. 8.
71. *History of Jahangir* — Beni Prasad, p. 385.
72. *History of India*, Vol. VI — Elliot and Dowson, p. 430.
History of Hindustan, Vol. I — Gladwin, pp. 86, 87.
73. *History of India*, Vol. VI — Elliot and Dowson, pp. 427, 31.
History of Hindustan, Vol. I — Gladwin, pp. 84, 88.
Ma'asir-ul-Umera, Vol. I — Bevedrige, p. 562.

CHAPTER VI

PANJAB UNDER SHAH JAHAN — 1627-1658

Lahore became the arena of the struggle between the rival claimants to the throne, which ensued on the death of Jahangir, who died on October 17, 1627, at Chengiz Hatli near Bhimber, when Shah Jahan was still in the Deccan. Since Shah Jahan's rebellion and defeat by Mahabat Khan, he had not returned to Agra. He had almost settled in the Deccan. We have narrated in the previous chapter the jealousy of the first magnitude between Nur Jahan and her brother Asaf Khan stemming from their rival desire to capture the throne for their own candidates. After Jahangir's death, Nur Jahan immediately sent a secret message to Shaharyar, her son-in-law, asking him to go post haste to Lahore,[1] with as many troops as he could collect. Acting upon her advice Shaharyar hastened to Lahore to capture the throne.

The first act of Asaf Khan, on the other hand, was to send Banarsi Das to Shah Jahan to inform him of the situation at Lahore and urge upon him the desirability of reaching Lahore by rapid marches, as time was a very important factor. A message was also sent to Mahabat Khan asking him to throw all his weight in favour of Shah Jahan.

The most momentous step taken by Asaf Khan was to place Prince Dawar Bakhsh,[2] son of Khusrau, on the throne just to fill the vacuum caused by the death of Jahangir. "It was certainly an extremely politic move."[3] The Prince was quite unwilling to assume the imperial title, for he had a premonition of his tragic end; but he was not allowed to wriggle out. All sorts of assurances on sacred oaths were given to him by Asaf Khan and Iradat Khan.

Nur Jahan had been making almost frantic efforts to perpetuate her domination for a long time, in anticipation of the crisis. So she decided to favour a candidate to the throne who was very docile and ineffectual. She did everything to advance Shaharyar's cause and to bring him into prominence. But, unfortunately, just at the critical juncture he happened to be away from the scene. His absence marred his chance to a very large extent, because some of the wavering nobles, who might have sided with him, were easily won over by Nur Jahan's opponents. Even then, Nur Jahan made a final bid to retain her power.[4]

Asaf Khan and his party marched to Bhimber with Dawar Bakhsh at their head to take possession of Jahangir's mortal remains. Nur Jahan had Dara, Shuja and Aurangzeb, three sons of Shah Jahan with her. With the assistance of Khwaja Abdul Hassain, Nur Jahan succeeded in removing the dead body

of Jahangir to Lahore[5] for burial. Asaf Khan conciliated Sadiq Khan, the Mir Bakhshi, who was not favourably disposed to Shah Jahan. And, in order to assure him, Asaf Khan took the three sons of Shah Jahan from Nur Jahan and placed them in the charge of Sadiq Khan and thus won the confidence of one of the most powerful generals. It was now fairly easy to deal with Nur Jahan, who was immediately put under strict surveillance by Asaf Khan.

Reaching Lahore, Shaharyar proclaimed himself Emperor. He seized the royal treasure and all the establishment of the government at Lahore. To win the favour of the soldiery and the nobles, he could think of no other plan than that of lavishing gold on them. Within a fortnight he distributed seventy lakh rupees among the worthless nobles and improvised troopers. This was probably the only method that he could have recourse to, for his bald and unimpressive appearance and personality, weak character, lack of experience, inefficiency and short sightedness might have scared away all the nobles. Under the command of Mirza Baisanghar, son of Daniyal, he sent a force to deal with the pretensions of Asaf Khan and his puppet.[6]

The rival forces met within three miles of Lahore. Asaf Khan rode on an elephant to show himself to his followers and to cheer them up for the fight. His troops, though not adequately equipped, consisted of experienced men who had seen many a battle. On the other hand, Shaharyar's army, hurriedly recruited, was no more than a rabble, most of whom had never heard the sound of a gun. On the very first charge they broke up and fled. When Shaharyar heard of the defeat of his lieutenant Baisanghar, he retreated to the fort and closed the gates; but his doom was sealed.[7]

From the field of battle Asaf Khan moved towards the fort and established himself in the garden of Mahdi Qasim Khan. Access to the fort became easy as Iradat Khan and Shaista Khan entered the fort at night and pitched their camp in the royal courtyard. In the morning they occupied the citadel and instituted a search for Shaharyar. He had concealed himself in the ladies' apartments in the citadel, but on the following day was brought out by the eunuchs Firoz Khan and Khidmat Khan, who were in league with Asaf Khan. Made to appear before Dawar Bakhsh, Shaharyar was compelled to submit. He was ordered to be imprisoned and was blinded two days later. Shortly afterwards, Tahmurs and Hoshang, sons of the drunken Daniyal, who had espoused the cause of Shaharyar, were also put to death at Lahore.[8]

With the concurrence of the Mir Bakhshi, Iradat Khan, Asaf Khan read the Khutba in Shah Jahan's name on January 19, 1628.[9] On the same day he consigned Dawar Bakhsh to

prison. By this time Banarsi Das had delivered the communique of Asaf Khan to Shah Jahan regarding the defeat and imprisonment of Shaharyar and his supporters. Shah Jahan extolled the loyalty of Asaf Khan, and congratulated him on his triumph. With a view to test Asaf Khan's sincerity and to get rid of possible rivals once for all, he wrote to Asaf Khan to execute Shaharyar and the sons of Daniyal. Asaf Khan was glad to carry out Shah Jahan's wishes to the very letter and immediately complied.[10]

WAZIR KHAN — 1628-1637

At the time of Shah Jahan's accession,[11] Khidmat Prasat Khan was appointed the governor of the Panjāb in place of Asaf Khan, when the latter was called to Delhi by the new Emperor and promoted to the rank of the Prime Minister of the whole of Mughal India. Asaf Khan was a strong man and he had controlled the administration of this key province in a competent manner But Khidmat Prasat Khan was a weak man and could not keep his hold over the Panjāb for long. In 1628, Shah Jahan held his court at Lahore and appointed Hakim Ilam-ud-din (whose title was Wazir Khan), the resident of Chiniot,[12] as the governor of the Panjāb. In the same year when the Emperor went to Lahore, Wazir Khan received him with all dignity. He offered to Shah Jahan one thousand golden coins,[13] jewels, gold and silver utensils, rich stuffs, carpets, horses and camels, valued at four lakh rupees. It was on this occasion that the rank of Najabat Khan, the military commander of the fort of Kangra, was raised.

The Emperor again held his court at Lahore in 1631. Qandhar, which had been in possession of the Shah of Iran since 1622, was surrendered to Wazir Khan by its governor Ali Mardan Khan, who, severing his relations with the Shah, came to Shah Jahan. Shah Quli Khan, Faujdar of Kangra, and Bakhtiar Khan, Faujdar of Lakhi Jungle, paid their homage to the Emperor, in keeping with their ranks and dignity.

Wazir Khan governed for nine long years during which there did not occur any important event. He was known as the ablest governor during Shah Jahan's reign; he gave peace and prosperity to the people. A great scholar of Arabic, philosophy and medicine to boot his accomplishments as a physician had much attracted the Emperor and the royal princes.[14]

ALI MARDAN KHAN — 1637-1644

After the death of Wazir Khan, Ali Mardan Khan was appointed the governor, in 1637. According to Miratul-Hind, Ali Mardan Khan was the son of Ganj Ali Khan. Appointed

the governor of Qandhar, by Safwi, King of Iran, in 1637, he surrendered Qandhar to Shah Jahan, as already mentioned, and joined the court at Lahore, where he was made a grandee of the first grade. He ably managed the expedition against Raja Jagat Singh of Nurpur, details of which follow. This expedition was continued for seven years and Ali Mardan Khan was the man to control the Frontier Province and to support the generals engaged in the task of subduing Raja Jagat Singh. On account of his meritorious services and loyalty, he was made the governor of Kashmir in addition to the Panjāb, in 1639. Shah Jahan was very much pleased with his administration and, thus, his Mansab was increased to seven thousand personnel and seven thousand horse.[15] A sum of rupees one lakh was spent by Ali Mardan Khan for digging a canal from the village Rajpur, near Nurpur, to Lahore, a distance of 48 Jarib Kos.[16] The canal was also to irrigate the suburbs of Lahore. He attracted wide admiration at the court with the construction of his other public works.[17]

REBELLION OF RAJA JAGAT SINGH OF NURPUR

Raja Basu,[18] the founder of Nurpur State was in the good books of Jahangir. On his death he was succeeded by his son Suraj Mal; but the latter proved treacherous to the imperial cause and was replaced by his brother Jagat Singh.[19]

In 1639, when Shah Jahan was at Lahore, he appointed Rajrup, the eldest son of Raja Jagat Singh, the Faujdar of the Shivalik hill states, to collect tribute, in his father's place. In the following year, when Shah Jahan was in Kashmir, Rajrup, acting in concert with his father, who was then in Bangash, rebelled.[20] Raja Jagat Singh, through friends at the court, put up a show of feigned dissatisfaction at the misconduct of his son. He requested the Emperor to relieve him of his duties in Bangash and bestow upon him the office of his son.[21] This, he made out, would give him an opportunity of punishing Rajrup, and for collecting tribute from the hill chiefs, valued at four lakh rupees. The Emperor accepted the offer; but Raja Jagat Singh, contrary to the wishes of Shah Jahan, fortified the fort of Taragarh,[22] with a view to rebel against the Mughals. When the news of the rebellious conduct of Jagat Singh reached Shah Jahan, he despatched[23] three corps to commence operations against Jagat Singh[24] under the overall charge of Prince Murad Bakhsh.

Murad Bakhsh now appointed Sa'id Khan, Raja Jai Singh and Asalat Khan to capture the fort of Mau,[25] while he remained behind to collect supplies and reinforce them. Khan Jahan left Raipur on August 29, 1941,[26] in order to march on Nurpur by the Balhawan Pass. At the foot of the pass he came upon Rajrup. Khan Jahan ordered Najabat Khan to engage

Rajrup. The obstacles which had been set up at the foot of the pass were forced through and Khan Jahan moved rapidly to Machhi Bhawan.[27] The enemy had blocked the roads everywhere, but the natives showed the imperialists the right path. By this way the army arrived at the summit of a hill about two miles from Nurpur, on October 9, 1641.[28] The houses outside the fort were given up to pillage and Khan Jahan dug trenches and commenced the siege. Sa'id Khan had in the meantime marched by way of Mount Harah, and Raja Jai Singh and Asalat Khan along the valley of the Chakki river,[29] and the junction was effected at Mau.

Qulij Khan and Rustam Khan joined Prince Murad at Pathankot, bringing orders from the court that Qulij Khan should march to Mau and Rustam Khan should meet Khan Jahan stationed at Nurpur. Reports had in the meantime been received that the occupation of Rupar, which overlooks Mau was necessary for the complete investment of Mau. Prince Murad Bakhsh directed Sa'id Khan to occupy first the fort of Rupar. It was further directed that a portion of the troops at Nurpur under Najabat Khan should join Sa'id Khan, who marched along the Nurpur pass as previously instructed and halted in the neighbourhood of the Mau mountain on the road to Rupar.[30] Sa'id Khan[31] reached Rupar the next day, advancing slowly while clearing the jungle; a force under Najabat Khan arrived in the neighbourhood of Raja Basu's garden.[32] The Rajputs were attacked all of a sudden from one side by Zulfaqar with the imperial artillery and from the other by Nazar Bahadur Khweshgi. Both the sides suffered heavy losses[33] in this fight.

Raja Man Singh of Guler sent about one hundred men to surprise the fort of Chhat[34] during the night and many Rajputs lost their lives. Among those killed was the commander of the fort. A portion of the fort of Chhat was, thus, occupied by the men of Man Singh.[35]

On the following day, a bastion of the fort of Nurpur,[36] which Khan Jahan had besieged, was blown up. Only one side of the bastion blew up whilst the other sank to the ground.[37] The besieged had erected a wall behind each bastion, and it was joined at either end to the outer wall of the fort. Hence, the wall behind the blown-up bastion remained intact and actually no breach, as such, was effected. Sayyid Lutf Ali and Jalal-ud-din Mahmud, who had rushed forward with Khan Jahan's men found the way barred and so wanted to clear a passage by demolishing the walls. But unfortunately it got dark and the storming party had to retire.[38]

Bahadur Khan was ordered by the Emperor, who was then at Lahore, to move from Islampur to Pathankot, where Murad

Bakhsh was waiting for him with three thousand horse and the same number of foot soldiers. On November 23, 1641, Damtal[39] was taken by Bahadur Khan and Tihari by Allah Virdi Khan. The Emperor also sent orders that Asalat Khan should hasten to Nurpur and take part in the siege and that Sayyid Khan Jahan, Rustam Khan and others, together with Bahadur Khan as vanguard, should attack Mau by way of Gangathal. If Mau was conquered, it would be easier to reduce Nurpur. The Emperor also desired that the Prince should leave Rao Amar Singh and Mirza Husain Safawi in Pathankot and march upon Mau and encamp in the Balhawan pass.

When the Prince moved from Pathankot towards Mau, Jagat Singh became doubtful of his success, and requested Allah Virdi Khan to beg the Prince to allow his son Rajrup an interview. But, out of envy Allah Virdi Khan was keen on forcing the war on him. The Prince himself had now come and he agreed to Jagat Singh's men being sent to him to settle the affairs. Rajrup appeared before the Prince, who promised to intercede on Jagat Singh's behalf with Shah Jahan. But the Emperor, to whom the Prince sent a report on November 28, 1641, demanded an unconditional surrender.

Sayyid Khan Jahan and Bahadur Khan were now sent by the Prince over Gangathal to Mau. When they reached Mau, Jagat Singh engaged them in sharp encounters for five days. During this short period no less than seven hundred men of Bahadur Khan's contingent were killed and wounded, with similar losses on the Rajput side.[40] It was a bloody fight which is known up to this day as "The Mau expedition, friends, is a call to death."[41] Jagat Singh escaped from the battlefield.[42]

Prithi Chand was ordered by the Prince to return to Chamba, and to occupy a hill near the fort of Taragarh,[43] the possession of which was necessary before Nurpur could be taken. In fact it belonged to Chamba, but Jagat Singh had taken it by force.[44]

The Prince reached Nurpur with Sayyid Khan Jahan and sent him to Jammu on December 27, 1651. Bahadur Khan and Asalat Khan, with nearly two thousand horse, were despatched to Taragarh. Raja Man Singh of Guler,[45] the sworn enemy of Jagat Singh, joined Prithi Chand, in order to attack Taragarh from the rear. Jagat Singh seeing that he was being vigorously attacked from all sides requested Sayyid Khan Jahan to intercede for him with the Prince. The Prince, at the intercession of Khan Jahan, recommended him to the mercy of the Emperor. The terms suggested were that Taragarh was to be handed over to the imperialists and was to be destroyed, with the exception of certain houses which, at Jagat Singh's request, were to be left as dwelling places for his servants and as store-houses for his property. The

fortifications of Mau and Nurpur were likewise to be levelled. This was accepted by Jagat Singh.[46]

Jagat Singh paid his respects to the Prince on March 11, 1642. Najabat Khan was ordered to make settlement for the whole district. Bahadur Khan and Asalat Khan were left in Nurpur to dismantle the bastions, and the Prince, with Sayyid Khan Jahan and Jagat Singh together with his sons, went to the court to appear before the Emperor.[47] Raja Jagat Singh and his sons, who were given royal pardon, were re-appointed to their former ranks and offices on April 10, 1642.[48]

Various circumstances had compelled Jagat Singh to raise the standard of revolt. He noticed a cold indifference on the part of the Emperor towards him. His distinguished services to the crown brought to him no appreciation and honour and so he became frustrated. He could also scarcely meet the pressing demands of the government with his meagre resources, his Jagir being rocky and barren. His snatching of a part of the territories of the Raja of Chamba and the building of the fort of Taragarh on it displeased the Emperor, who regarded the existence of a recalcitrant chief on the way to Kashmir as dangerous.

Abid Khan, whose title was Qulich Khan (1644-1647), was made the governor of the Panjāb in succession to Ali Mardan Khan. During his governorship, the Mughal forces remained engaged in the Frontier Province and he reinforced the army which was conducting the Balakh and Badakhshan campaign. Not much is known about him as regards his other activities, with particular reference to this province. He died in 1654,[49] and was succeeded by Jafar Khan.

Jafar Khan was appointed the governor in succession to Qulich Khan in 1647.[50] He was known far and wide for his good nature and humanitarianism. He was just, loyal, talented and popular, and was a fine administrator.[51]

Shah Jahan suddenly fell ill on September 6, 1657. He was compelled to remain confined to his bed-chamber and he stopped going to the court. His removal from the public gaze was regarded with great misapprehension by the Princes and gave rise to wildest speculations.

NOTES

1. *Badshahnama*, Vol. VII — Elliot and Dowson, p. 75.
2. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, Text, p. 394.
   Badshahnama — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, p. 5.
3. *History of Shah Jahan* — Saxena (1962), p. 57.
4. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, Text, Mutamid Khan, p. 294.
   The English Factories in India (1624-1639), pp. 171, 172.
   Khulasa-ut-Tawarikh — Sujan Rai, Text (1918), p. 482.
5. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri* — Mutamid Khan, Text, p. 299.
   Badshahnama — Mirza Aminai Qazvini, p. 114.

6. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri* — Mutamid Khan, Text, p. 299.
Badshahnama — Mirza Aminai Qazvini, p. 114.
Amal-i-Salha, Vol. I — Salha Kambo, Text, p. 210.
7. *Amal-i-Salha*, Vol. I — Salha Kambo, pp. 211, 212.
8. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri* — Mutamid Khan, Text, pp. 296, 297.
Badshahnama — Mirza Aminai Qazvini, pp. 115, 117.
9. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, Mutamid Khan, Text, p. 184.
10. *Amal-i-Salha*, Vol. I — Salha Kambo, pp. 221-23.
11. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri* — Mutamid Khan, Text, pp. 301, 302.
Badshahnama — Mirza Aminai Qazvini, pp. 119, 120.
12. Fiftytwo miles from Jhang, Tehsil Headquarters of the same name in Jhang District.
13. *Amal-i-Salha*, Vol. III — Salha Kambo, Text, p. 395.
14. *Badshahnama*, Vol. VIII — Elliot and Dowson, p. 43.
History of Shah Jahan — Saxena, pp. 136, 137, 310-14.
The Oriental and Biographical Dictionary — Beale, p. 282.
15. *History of India*, Vol. III — Elliot and Dowson, p. 57.
16. Nurpur is 114 miles from Lahore, through Amritsar, but the direct distance from Nurpur to Lahore is about 90 miles.
17. *The History of India* — Elphinstone, p. 583.
18. *Ma'asir-ul-Umera*, Vol. I — Shah Nawaz Khan, Text, p. 764.
Amal-i-Salha, Vol. I — Salha Kambo, Text, p. 69.
19. *Ma'asir-ul-Umera*, Vol. II — Shah Nawaz Khan, Text, pp. 176-79, 238-41.
Memoirs of Jahangir, Vol. II — R&B, pp. 54-57, 74, 75.
20. *Badshahnama*, Vol. I — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, p. 144.
21. *J.A.S. of Bengal* (1875), p. 194.
22. Twelve miles north to Nurpur (*History of the Panjab Hill States*, Vol. I — H. & Vogel, p. 237).
23. *Badshahnama*, Vol. II — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, p. 239.
History of Shah Jahan — Saxena, p. 96.
24. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1874), p. 194.
Badshahnama, Vol. II — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, pp. 237, 238.
25. Mau (Maukot) was situated about half way between Pathankot and Nurpur on a ridge of low hills, running to the east of the Chakki river (*Badshahnama*, Vol. II — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, p. 264).
26. *Badshahnama* — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, pp. 238-44. It is situated at 16 miles from Pathankot towards the east (*Arzdasht* — Qazvini Shaikh Jalal Hissari, pp. 20, 24).
27. *Badshahnama* — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, p. 262.
28. *Amal-i-Salha*, Vol. II — Salha Kambo, pp. 348-51.
29. It divides the District of Gurdaspur from Kangra as far as Dhangu.
30. *History of Shah Jahan* — Saxena, p. 96.
Badshahanama, Vol. II — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, p. 236.
31. *History of the Panjab Hill States*, Vol. I — H. & Vogel, p. 23.
32. *Amal-i-Salha*, Vol. II — Salha Kambo, pp. 456-62.
33. *Badshahnama*, Vol. II — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, p. 266.
34. One of the Zails' headquarters of Nurpur Tehsil in Kangra District.
35. Jagat Singh had long been preparing for this emergency and had strengthened the three principal forts in his territory, viz., Mau, Nurpur and Taragarh, and more in their neighbourhood and furnished them with all available weapons of war. Mau was nearest to the plains, being situated a little more than half way from Pathankot to Nurpur, on the summit of the range of low hills running to the east of the river Chakki. It was really a fortified enclosure with dense jungle all round it, and was a place of great strength. Few vestiges of the fortifications now remain, as it was completely demolished under the order of Shah Jahan. The Nurpur fort, of which the massive ruins may still be seen, stands to the south-west of the town and had deep revines on three sides. The main

entrance was to the north. Taragarh, which is twelve miles north of Nurpur was built by Jagat Singh in about 1625-30, as a refuge for an evil day. It was a fortified hill of a conical shape, rising to 4,230 feet with deep ravines all around it. On it there were three forts one above the other, the highest crowning the summit of the hill, which is clearly visible from Bakloh.

36. *History of the Panjab Hill States*, Vol. I — H. & Vogel, p. 237.
History of Shah Jahan — Saxena, p. 99.
37. *Badshahnama*, Vol. II — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, pp. 263, 264.
38. *Amal-i-Salha*, Vol. II — Salha Kambo, Text, pp. 460-70.
39. *Badshahnama*, Vol. II — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, p. 266.
Four miles from Pathankot on Pathankot-Hoshiarpur Road.
40. *Amal-i-Salha*, Vol. II — Salha Kambo, pp. 352-55.
Badshahnama, Vol. II — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, pp. 269, 270.
41. "Mau ki Mahim, Yaro ! Maut ki Nishani hai."
42. *History of the Panjab Hill States* — H. & Vogel, p. 237.
Badshahnama, Vol. II — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, p. 272.
43. Taragarh is 12 miles north of Nurpur within Chamba State and was built by Raja Jagat Singh in 1625-1630 as a refuge for evil days.
History of the Panjab Hill States, Vol. I — H. & Vogel, p. 237.
Badshahnama, Vol. II — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, p. 274.
44. *History of the Panjab Hill States*, Vol. II — H. & Vogel, p. 204.
45. *Badshahnama*, Vol. II — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, p. 272.
46. *History of the Hill States*, Vol. II — H. & Vogel, p. 237.
47. *Badshahnama*, Vol. II — Text, Abdul Hamid Lahori, p. 268.
48. *History of the Panjab Hill States*, Vol. II — H. & Vogel, p. 249.
49. *The Oriental Biographical Dictionary* — Beale, p. 146.
History of Shah Jahan — Saxena, pp. 64, 191-96, 227-33.
50. *Ma'asir-ul-Umera*, Vol. I — Shah Nawaz Khan, p. 632.
51. *The Oriental Biographical Dictionary* — Beale, p. 126.
Ma'asir-ul-Umera, Vol. I — Shah Nawaz Khan, 534.

CHAPTER VII

PANJAB UNDER AURANGZEB — 1658-1707

It was a tragedy of the Mughal monarchy that the dying eyes of the father should witness the rebellion of the son. Believing that his death was approaching, Shah Jahan had executed his will bequeathing the empire to his eldest son Dara Shikoh, who was called upon to conduct the administration in the name of the Emperor during his illness. At the time of Shah Jahan's illness Dara Shikoh was the governor of the Panjāb, Shuja of Bengal, Aurangzeb of the Deccan, and Murad of Gujarat. Shuja, the second son, was the first to declare his independence. Aurangzeb and Murad allied themselves with the set intention to overthrow Dara Shikoh. Raja Jaswant Singh's force, sent by Dara from Delhi, opposed Shuja at Allahabad and forced him to retreat to Bengal. Qazim Khan with a large army was sent to check the advance of the combined forces of Aurangzeb and Murad. But he could not withstand their onslaught, even though Raja Jaswant Singh had reinforced Qazim Khan at Dharmat on April 15, 1658, after defeating Shuja. The victorious army proceeded towards Agra, while Dara collected all his available troops at the instance of Shah Jahan, and met his brothers at Samugarh, which turned out to be a decisive battle where Dara himself faced the army of Aurangzeb and Murad. Aurangzeb proved a better general and Dara, bold and brave as he was, was defeated on May 29, 1658. Both the victorious brothers marched to Agra and a few days after the victory at Samugarh they siezed the fort of Agra on June 8, 1658. Sick and old Shah Jahan was taken prisoner. Leaving Shaista Khan in charge of Agra, Aurangzeb moved towards Delhi in pursuit of Dara who had escaped towards the Panjāb.

The retreat of Dara Shikoh from Agra made Aurangzeb the master of the Indian Empire. On being defeated at Samugarh, Dara Shikoh at once decided to retreat from Delhi to the Panjāb, which province had for long been his viceroyalty and was then held by his faithful deputy, Sayyid Ghairat Khan.[1] Lahore fort contained much of his property, as well as one crore rupees in the imperial treasury, and a vast arsenal and magazine. He had also much influence in the Panjāb on account of his position as a former viceroy. He was particularly friendly with Har Rai, the seventh Sikh Guru. The Panjāb was the home of soldiers, and close to the Afghan border where the hardest mercenaries could be enlisted. Under these circumstances he had already instructed his Lahore agent to raise troops and collect guns. He wrote to every quarter of this martial province requesting the

tribes to enlist and sent robes of honour to the chiefs and Faujdars of the Panjāb, Multan and Thatta, and to the troops near Peshawar, inviting them to join him.[2]

After a week's halt, Dara Shikoh reached Sirhind on June 12, 1658, with an army of ten thousand men. There he siezed the property of the revenue collector and dug out twelve lakh rupees which the officer had burried underground before his flight. After crossing the Satlej, he destroyed all the boats found at the ferries within his reach, in order to hinder the passage of the pursuing army of Aurangzeb. He reached Lahore on July 3, 1658.

In Lahore, Dara Shikoh opened the rich imperial treasury and began to distribute money lavishly among his soldiers. In a short time twenty thousand men were recruited. Some imperial commanders such as Raja Rajrup,[3] the chief of Nurpur, and Khanjar Khan,[4] the Faujdar of Bhera,[5] and Khushab also joined him. Dara also secretly wrote to Aurangzeb's officers and to Rajputs inciting them to rebel against Aurangzeb,[6] but to no avail.

On the bank of the Satlej, at the ferry of Talwan,[7] he left his chief general Daud Khan[8] to oppose the enemy at the crossing of the river. He also sent him reinforcements of five thousand troops with artillery from Lahore. A second party under Sayyid Ghairat Khan[9] and Musahib Beg was asked to guard the ferry at Rupar. Dara Shikoh also urged Shuja to make a diversion against Aurangzeb in the east and promised him a partition of the empire after the fall of their common foe; Shuja was now too poor to respond.

Dara Shikoh had hoped that the exhaustion of Aurangzeb's army after their long march from the Deccan and two severe battles fought in succession, coupled with the heavy monsoon rains and the many rivers and miry roads of the Panjāb, would prevent Aurangzeb from pursuing him. He hoped to get a long respite at Lahore for fortifying himself in that city and rendering it the rendezvous for his friends and adherents.[10]

But Aurangzeb, after a hurried coronation ceremony in Delhi, started towards the Panjāb in pursuit of Dara. He took every step to expedite the pursuit and to leave Dara no time to recoup his power. He made his naval department construct portable boats which were sent wagons to the ferries of the rivers.[11]

Bahadur Khan hastened to the ferry of Talwan. He found that the opposite bank of the Satlej was very strongly guarded by Daud Khan, the trusted general of Dara Shikoh. Bahadur Khan, then, guided by some friendly Zamindars, had to rush to the ferry at Rupar, sixty miles upstream from the ferry of Talwan, to cross the Satlej. He defeated Ghairat Khan and Musahib

Beg and with the help of boats crossed the Satlej on the night of August 4, 1658.[12] Daud Khan, hearing the news of the disaster of Rupar, retreated towards Sultanpur.

Another division of Aurangzeb's forces, under Khalil Ulla Khan,[13] who was later appointed the governor of the Panjāb by Aurangzeb, made a forced march to the Rupar ferry to reinforce Bahadur Khan. The latter was further ordered by Aurangzeb to give battle to the enemy at the first opportunity if the conditions became favourable. In the course of his retreat Daud Khan found, at the ferry of Goindwal, that Bahadur Khan's forces had already been joined by those of Khalil Ulla Khan. Daud Khan did not think it advisable to risk a battle against such heavy odds.

Aurangzeb himself reached the Satlej at Rupar to ascertain if the road to the Beas was clear. He sent off Jai Singh and Daler Khan, with the artillery under Saf Shikan Khan,[14] to join Khalil Ulla Khan. Aurangzeb reached Garh Shanker[15] on August 18, 1658.

Many of Dara's treacherous officers began to desert him and join Aurangzeb's army. Dara Shikoh was disappointed. Most of the freshly recruited troops abandoned the losing camp and began to join the imperial forces. Aurangzeb was sending tempting letters to Dara Shikoh's officers and succeeded in winning over many of them, such as Raja Rajrup, Khanjar Khan and some others.[16] He wrote a letter[17] to Daud Khan, the bravest and the most trusted officer of Dara, and contrived for it to be intercepted by Dara Shikoh's patrols. Every word of the letter was false, because faithful Daud Khan had never corresponded with Aurangzeb.

The future seemed absolutely dark for Dara Shikoh and he sank into grief when he read the forged letter. He now became over-suspicious and recalled Siphir Shikoh, his second son, from the ferry where Daud Khan was defending the Beas river. "Daud Khan, on returning to his master found him a changed man, ever turning a clouded face and casting suspicious glances at him. Full co-operation between the Prince and his chief lieutenant ceased."[18]

The might of Aurangzeb was reinforced by his four high generals, namely, Bahadur Khan, Khalil Ulla Khan, Daler Khan and Jai Singh, armed with Saf Shikan Khan's artillery. Dara left Lahore with his family and all the treasures of the fort,[19] guns and artillery, loading most of them in boats and on animal backs, and hastened to Multan. Siphir Shikoh, by forced marches from Goindwal, joined him outside Lahore and so did Daud Khan. Nearly four thousand troops accompanied Dara Shikoh.[20]

Hearing of this, Aurangzeb decided to lead the chase of his brother Dara Shikoh in person. He turned south-west towards

Multan with the pick of his soldiery, making forced marches of 14 to 22 miles a day, by way of Qasur[21] and Shergarh.[22] On reaching Mamanpur[23] he got the news that Dara Shikoh had fled from Multan[24] southwards to Bhakkar, and that even there he was betrayed by his own men. Therefore, Aurangzeb did not find it necessary to go further and tax the endurance of his men and animals. He now began to travel in shorter stages; but he took care to order Saf Shikan Khan, with six thousand men, to pursue Dara, beyond Multan and expel him from the Panjāb. Khalil Ulla Khan was asked to stay in Multan till the Emperor's arrival. Aurangzeb reached Multan and paid his respects to the Mausoleum of Saint Shaikh Baha-ud-ḍin, where he made an offering of rupees one thousand.

Seeing that all was well on this side, Aurangzeb accompanied by his whole army reached Lahore in 1659. He camped at the garden of Faiz Bakhsh, on the road to Delhi. The following day, he was visited in state from the city by Prince Muhammad Azim, along with Muhammad Amin Khan, Mir Bakhshi, and other officers of the state, and in the company of the Prince, Aurangzeb inspected the fort.[25] On his way back to the gardens of Farah Bakhsh, he said prayers in the Mosque of Wazir Khan with the congregation.

Khalil Ulla Khan was appointed the governor of Lahore and was heavily rewarded for the services rendered by him.[26]

Aurangzeb again visited Lahore in 1661 and said the Friday prayers in the Mosque of Feroze Khan on the outskirts of the citadel[27] and it was proclaimed that on all Fridays the congregation should perform their prayers. During that stay a sum of rupees twenty thousand was distributed to the poor through Abid Khan, Sadar-ul-Sadur.[28] A grand entertainment was arranged for the Emperor in the garden of Dilkusha across the Ravi.

Aurangzeb again came to the Panjāb in 1668-69, when he visited Hasan Abdul[29] and some other places of the frontier. On his way back to Delhi, he halted at Lahore[30] for a few days in the garden of Dilkusha, where he was met by the governor of Lahore, Ibrahim Khan. A grand Darbar was held in the Shah Burj. The courtiers were honoured with dresses, among the recipients being Ibrahim Khan, the governor of Lahore, Haji Muhammad Takir, Qiladar, Feroze Khan, Faujdar of Dipalpur, and Amir Khan, the governor of Kabul.[31]

Aurangzeb governed this province by installing his own men as the governors. He was a pastmaster in diplomacy and, thus, always appointed trusted, strong and experienced generals to those high posts. Their tenures were only for limited periods, during which time Aurangzeb could not be misled by any kind

of intrigue or secret manipulation. The full list of his governors is given in Appendix A.

NOTES

1. *The Oriental Biographical Dictionary* — Beale, p. 94.
   History of Shah Jahan — Saxena, p. 34.
2. *Aurangnama*, Patna Lib., ff. 130-35.
   Waqiat-i-Alamgiri — Aqil Khan Razi (1946), pp. 35, 36.
3. *Ma'asir-ul-Umera*, Vol. II, p. 277.
4. He was a great general of Shah Jahan, who had defeated Nazar Muhammad at the time of his conquest of Kabul (*History of Shah Jahan* — Saxena, p. 184).
5. *Travels F. Burnier*, p. 70. Situated on the left bank of the Jhelum, 11 miles from Miani.
6. *Aurangnama*, MS. Patna Lib., ff. 142, 143.
   Storia do-Mogar, Vol. I — Manucci, p. 310.
7. Talwan is a village in Phillaur Tehsil, District Jullundur, on the uplands of the Satlej, *Ibid.* pp. 143-80.
8. A loyal general of Dara Shikoh (*History of Shah Jahan* — Saxena, p. 333).
9. "Izzat Khan" says *Aurangnama.*
10. *Storia-do-Mogar*, Vol. I — Manucci, p. 313.
11. *Aurangnama*, Patna Lib., ff. 160-65.
    Ibid. p. 164.
12. *Aurangnama*, Patna Lib., ff. 163, 164.
13. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* — Muhammad Saqi (Sarkar), p. 8.
14. Title of Muhammad Tahir, a noble man of the rank of 300, who served under the Emperor Alamgir and died in 1676 A.D. (*The Oriental Biographical Dictionary* — Beale, p. 230).
15. Tehsil headquarters in Hoshiarpur District, situated at the distance of 25 miles to the south-east.
16. *Aurangnama*, Patna Lib., ff. 181, 182.
17. *Aurangnama*, Patna Lib., ff. 175-180.
18. *Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai*, Patna Lib., (Muhammad Masum), pp. 89, b-93.
19. Amounting to more than one crore rupees (*Alamgirnama*, Calcutta Ed., p. 188).
20. *Aurangnama*, Patna Lib., ff. 186-88.
    Waqiat-i-Aurangzeb — Aqil Khan Razi, p. 73.
21. South-eastern Tehsil of Lahore, situated on the north bank of the Satlej.
22. Ten miles from Satgarh railway station towards the south-east.
23. Perhaps Mumandurla, four miles towards Harappa.
24. *Aurangnama*, Patna Lib., ff. 201-03.
25. *Alamgirnama*, Calcutta Ed. p. 214.
26. *Lahore* — Muhammad Latif, p. 65.
27. Close to the Hatiapul gate in Lahore.
28. *Alamgirnama* — Muhammad Qazim, Text, p. 167.
29. Situated on the top of a steep hill. It is known to the Sikhs as Panja Sahib in consequence of the mark of the hand of Guru Nanak.
30. *Alamgirnama* — Muhammad Qazim, Text, p. 833.
31. *Alamgirnama* — Muhammad Qazim, Text, p. 842.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SIKHS AND THE GREAT MUGHALS — 1526-1708

It is the Panjāb's misfortune that none of the Sikh Gurus was directly interested in writing the history of his time. The references available in the Sikh records are mostly incidental and form secondary sources. Had the Gurus taken up their pen to write a history of their relations with the Great Mughals, they would not have failed to lay before the world a true picture of these times. Such a picture would have exposed the corruption and treachery of the Panjāb governors, the confusion and disorder of every kind that were rampant all over the province, and the cruelty, extravagance, profligacy and the vices being practised freely. It would have been recorded how murder, plunder, robbery and debauchery were the order of the day and, finally, how honour, justice and position were sold and bought with slavish pride and joy. The Gurus seemingly ignored all this with contempt and kept themselves busy with the task of reforming the society. Probably they did not want to soil their pen and tongue by writing and speaking about base and corrupt things which filled the very air with licentiousness and pollution of the most shocking character. This book, therefore, attempts to adduce below a brief picture of the relations between the Sikhs and the Great Mughals from the scanty sources available.

GURU NANAK — 1469-1539

Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, was born in November 1469,[1] at Talwandi Rai Bhoe,[2] now called Nankana Sahib, in the District of Shaikhupura (now in West Pakistan). His father, Mehta Kalu, was a Patwari[3] of the same village.

After finishing his education in the three R's, he studied Persian and the conventional Islamic literature from Saiyid Hasan. His brother-in-law, Jai Ram, secured for him the job of a storekeeper of a state granary at Sultanpur. His interest in spiritual and religious quest led him to give up the service at the age of twentyseven in spite of the fact that he had two sons and two daughters to look after. He travelled far and wide, from Assam and Deccan to Baghdad, Orissa to Ceylon, and had personal contact with saints and Fakirs and watched critically their faiths, beliefs, manners, and morals. It is alleged that he was much influenced by a saint named Murad Shaikh Sharaf Shaikh Baha-ud-din, and the teachings of Kabir. It is, however, doubtful if he had any formal initiation, for he says that his guru was God. The sack of Saidpur (Emanabad in Gujranwala District) and the

massacre of its inhabitants in 1521 by the order of Babar, who "like a ravenous lion fell upon a herd of cows," produced a powerful impression upon his mind. On that occasion he is said to have been arrested, but later on released. In his old age he settled down as a farmer at Kartarpur, a small village in Sialkot District.

At the time of Nanak's birth, the social, political, economic and religious condition of the people of the Panjāb, nay of the whole of India, was chaotic. Apart from the invading hordes, whose main object was destruction, massacre and plunder, the six dynasties, which had established themselves one after the other in India for over three centuries (1206-1526), could not maintain peace in the country. The invasions of Changiz Khan and Timur added fuel to the fire and tremendously increased the miseries of the people. Almost all the Muslim rulers were fierce bigots. Hordes of lawless Turks had overrun the country. The people of the Panjāb were helpless against those usurpers who divided political power amongst themselves. Under such conditions the honour of no man or woman was safe. The so-called imperial government at Delhi was powerless, even if it desired to check the misdeeds of those desperados. Besides, it was itself so much disrupted by internal jealousies and intrigues that it had little time and inclination to exercise any control over them. The annals of this period constitute a dark and dismal chapter of Indian history. Nanak has described what he saw with his own eyes, in Var Majh :

> "Kings are butchers, cruelty their knife
> Sense of duty has taken wings and vanished
> Falsity prevails like the darkness of the darkest night
> The moon of truth is visible nowhere."[4]

The indigenous population of the country, on the other hand, was hopelessly divided in itself. Hindus did not associate with Hindus. Owing to the rigidity of the caste system, bred by the Brahmanic revival that had turned Buddhism out of India, it was, for instance, considered sacrilege for Sudras even to hear a Vedic hymn.[5] It is aptly said, "Political lawlessness, social confusion, religious corruption, moral degradation and spiritual slavery were the order of the day. In spite of the periodic appearance of prophets and reformers, who had set high ideals before mankind, the brute in man had still predominated. The galaxy of saints, which appeared in the country a few years before his birth, were obviously the precursers of the Master who came down to warn people against their iniquitous lives, and proclaim the advent of the new Spirit."[6]

The invasion of Babar and the launching of Nanak's reform movement took place about the same time. It was the disintegrating state of the Delhi Sultanate and the political intrigues at the

court of Delhi during these years that had whetted Babar's ambition and made it easy for him to occupy India.

Nanak was a reformer like Kabir, with more restraint and dignity of expression. He was utterly dissatisfied with the social and political conditions in the country. He condemned the abject slavishness, hypocrisy, baseness and poltroonery of the people and deplored the degeneration that had set in among his countrymen.

> The man-eaters say the (five) prayers :
> And they who wielded the knife wear the sacred thread,
> And in their homes do the Brahmans blow the conch,
> Yea, they too relish the same tastes,
> False is their stock, yea, false their trade,
> And falsehood fill their bellies, they,
> The sense of shame and honour from them is far removed,
> For, Nanak, its falsehood that filleth them all.
> On their foreheads is the saffron-mark and their loin girt by Dhoti's folds;
> But in their hands is the knife, yea, they are the butchers of the world.
> They seek approval of the Muslim Rulers by wearing blue,
> And worship the Puranas succoured by barbarian's food.[7]

The social aspect of Nanak's religious thought is well reflected in his sayings. "He who looks on all men and women as equals is religious", and "Abide pure amid the impurities of the world". He raised the status of woman almost to the level of man. Inter-dining was instituted to break the rigour of the caste system. Wine and pork were prohibited. He repudiated polytheism, idol worship and belief in incarnation of God, denied the validity of the caste system, of mythological beings, of formal rituals and ceremonials. Instead, he laid emphasis on moral virtues. He did not recognise any basic difference between Hindus and Musalmans, since all were children of one God.

Nanak came in contact with the first Mughal Emperor, Babar, for the first time in 1520-21, when the latter crossed into India. At first he reduced Bhera and then marched on Sialkot. Everywhere the people found themselves in a precarious situation. If they submitted to Babar and supplied him with provisions, they exposed themselves to the wrath of the Sultan of Delhi after the return of Babar; and if they did not submit to Babar, he would kill them, plunder their homes and take away their women and children as slaves. Thus, the people chose the lesser evil and submitted to Babar to save themselves. But here again they were gravely disillusioned because they could save little from Babar's lascivious army. In 1521, Babar reached Saidpur. The Pathan chiefs of Saidpur decided to resist and thus invited death and destruction. Macauliffe, says, "The Pathan Chiefs of Saidpur, who resisted, were put to the sword, their wives and children carried into captivity and all their property plundered.[8] Nanak, who happened to be at Saidpur during its sack, was very much

distressed to see the horrible sight of pillage and plunder which was committed by Babar. He could not resist his innate anger and thus commented :

> "As the Word[9] of the Lord cometh to me so I make known, O' Lalo
> Bringing a bridal procession of sins,
> Babar hath hastened from Kabul and demandeth wealth as his bride,
> O' Lalo."

Guru Nanak did not have any political contacts with the Mughal Emperors both Babar and Humayun. This was the first phase of Sikhism. The main activities of the founder of this sect related to love, peace and Bhakti, and out of these emerged the plant of Sikhism. In the course of two hundred years this tender plant assumed the proportions of a mighty tree with its branches spreading over vast areas of the earth.

The faith of Nanak was founded on three main principles : (*i*) Faith in one God; (*ii*) repetition of His name or Bhakti; and (*iii*) the Guru's role in guiding his devotees. Guru Nanak raised his powerful voice against the superstitions and foolish customs and ceremonies prevailing in his time. His devotion to one God "the True, the Immortal, the Self-existent, the Pure, the Inevitable" made Nanak reject incarnations and idols and abominations, while his insistence on right conduct cut away the basis of ritualistic practices and prayers.[10] He boldly faced the religious fanatics, both Hindu and Muslim, and with his superior logic and practical illustrations put an end to these superstitions and evil customs and showed the Sikhs the path towards life everlasting.

Nanak wanted his mission to continue after his death. He had established Sangats at different places and appointed saintly persons to look after them. In choosing his successor he exercised great care and gave preference to one of his disciples, named Lehna, over his sons. The reason for his choice lay in the superior character and devotion of Lehna. It was evident that Nanak did not want his movement to preach flight from the problems of the world and seeking shelter in renunciation. He proposed to infuse religious spirit into the common people living a normal life. Sikhism was meant to be "essentially a religion of house-holders", as was the case with Islam.

GURU ANGAD — 1539-1552

Angad (Lehna) was born on the 11th of Baisakh in 1561 B.E. (1504 A.D.), in Matte-di-Sarai,[11] a village about six miles from Muktsar in Ferozepur District. This village was once sacked by the Mughals and the Baloch tribes. On account of this, his father Pheru, who was a trader by profession,[12] had to leave this village, with his family to settle at Khadur, now a famous

town near Tarn Taran, in Amritsar District. He was a Kshatri of the Trehan clan.[13]

The characters of Nanak's two sons, Sri Chand and Lakhmi Das were poles apart. Sri Chand, disregarding his father's teachings, had become an ascetic and founded the Udasi sect of recluses, who renounced the world and domestic life;[14] the second son was wholly given to pleasure. It was, therefore, Angad (Lehna), one of Nanak's disciples who was appointed the latter's successor. The nomination to the guruship "is a fact of the profoundest significance in Sikh history."[15] The appointment of Angad was based on democratic principles. In Angad's succession, Nanak did establish a precedent through which could be established a community beyond the ties of family. By his own liberal volition he disallowed his sons from succeeding him, and thereby clothed the guruship with more than mere family prestige; he invested it with due dignity and cardinal importance. However, with the accession of Guru Har Rai, the grandson of the sixth Guru Hargobind, the office had become hereditary, but by another principle than that of primogeniture. In the entire line of Gurus only three sons succeeded, in their turn, their fathers. They were Arjan, Harkishan and Gobind Singh, the fifth, the eighth and the tenth Gurus, respectively. Harkishan, was Har Rai's son and Gobind Singh was Tegh Bahadur's son.

Guru Angad popularised the Gurmukhi script,[16] which became the sacred medium of expression of the hymns and prayers. He compiled Nanak's biography and the collection of his hymns. "We are enabled by the discovery of this Janam Sakhi (biography of Nanak) to distinguish the older tradition regarding Nanak — and to fix with some degree of verisimility the real facts of his life."[17] The institution of Langar (free and common kitchen) started by Angad was a distinctive feature of the Sikhs, to which were invited guests and friends to eat with him and his disciples as one family, regardless of race, wealth, sex, caste, occupation or religion.[18]

Humayun, after his defeat by Sher Shah on May 17, 1540, at Kanauj, made his way to Lahore and learnt on the way of some "wonder working priest"[19] who could restore him to his kingdom. He was informed by one of his associates of the greatness of the late Guru Nanak and of the succession of Guru Angad to his spiritual sovereignty and was advised to seek his assistance. Upon this Humayun, taking offerings with him, proceeded to Khadur in Amritsar District. Angad was in a deep trance, minstrels were playing at the rebeek and singing the Guru's hymns and, therefore, the Emperor had to wait. At this Humayun became violently angry and put his hand on the hilt of his sword with the intention of striking the Guru. The Guru, undaunted by this behaviour, addressed him : "When you ought to have used

your sword against Sher Shah, you proved yourself to be a coward and you fled the battlefield and now posing as a hero you wish to attack a body of men engaged in their devotions."[20] Humayun[21] apologised for what he had done and thereafter took his leave, crossed the Indus with great difficulty and made his way to Iran.

Indu Bhushan Banerjee calls the story "very doubtful", perhaps just because he does not get any reference from a contemporary Muslim chronicle. But Humayun had passed through the ferry of Goindwal, while crossing the Beas, in 1540, as he was being pursued by the Afghan troops during his retreat to Lahore. Mention is made in almost all the Sikh histories that Humayun sought the benedictions of the Guru in his adversity.

Guru Angad had two sons, Dasu and Dattu, but he nominated Amar Das as his successor and died a few days later on March 29, 1552 (Chet, 1609 Bikram).[22]

GURU AMAR DAS — 1552-1574

Amar Das was the son of Tej Bhan of a small village, Basarke by name, situated in the District of Amritsar. He was born in 1479 A.D.[23] He extensively propagated the mission of Guru Nanak and composed many beautiful hymns which are much liked for their simplicity. Some Brahmans, under the leadership of a Marwaha Kshatri, complained to Akbar against the teachings of the Guru. Their attempts were all in vain, when on hearing the religious views of the Guru, the Emperor showed his liking for the Sikh religion and refused to interfere with it.[24]

Akbar developed a special liking[25] for the religion of Nanak, as it preached universal love and tried to bridge the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims. After his momentous victory at Chittor, Akbar came to Goindwal and was greatly impressed to see the working of the Guru's free kitchen. He also partook of the food prepared in the kitchen and was so highly pleased with it that he ordered twelve villages to be given in Jagir for its maintenance.[26] Apart from the material gain, which was by no means unimportant, the visit of the Emperor enormously increased the fame and prestige of the Guru. The visit of Akbar made such a profound impression that a multitude of converts were brought to the fold of Sikhism.[27] The Guru died at the age of ninetyfive at Goindwal in 1574.[28]

Guru Amar Das had some rivals, such as Dattu, the son of Guru Angad, and Sri Chand, the son of Guru Nanak.[29] He had been nominated his successor by Guru Angad himself of his own free accord, thus further ensuring the exclusion of Sri Chand from direct guruship and, in the process, augmenting the distinction between the Sikhs and the order of Udasis, which had been instituted by Sri Chand, otherwise Sikhism would have been

probably reduced to no more than one among the numerous sects and orders of ascetics or devotees belonging to Hinduism. This would have meant that Sikhism would have been wholly unrepresented in the life of the people.

Guru Amar Das was in true succession not only a Guru but also a poet, and, as in the case of Nanak, verse became the channel of his message of reform. He faced the question, for example, of Sati (widow-burning), a Hindu custom which had continued among Sikhs also. He denounced the practice of Sati and openly asked his followers to re-marry the widows :

> "Satian eh na akhian jo marhian lag jalan;
> Nanak; Satian janian je birha chot maran."[30]

Guru Amar Das settled down at Goindwal to guide the destiny of the Sikhs. By constructing a Baoli (large well), by reforming the institution of free and common kitchen, by dividing his spiritual empire into twentytwo provinces (Manjis), by introducing new ceremonies for birth and death, he contributed a lot towards the cultural and social evolution of his followers.

As an instance of the social evolution brought about by Guru Amar Das, it may be noted that, when he constructed a Baoli at Goindwal, he preached among his disciples that they could wash away all their sins by having a dip there; and thus the Sikhs were discouraged from going to the Hindu places of pilgrimage. The foundation of this Baoli marked a highly significant step in the history of Sikhism, as Goindwal developed into a very important place of worship, which prompted the Sikhs to abandon the practice of going far away from the Panjāb to have the holy dip at Hardwar, Prayag, Banaras, Katak and Puri, especially as most of the people could not afford to go to those distant places. It also led to the Sikhs being dissociated from the old and extravagant customs of the Hindus prevalent at those places. The Guru reformed the Langar (free public kitchen) already in vogue and initiated by his predecessors. This Langar was intended to feed those who were unable to work and also those who came to the Guru from distant places in connection with the worship. This institution helped in removing untouchability, which was a great curse among the Hindu society. "It (Langar) proved a powerful aid in the propaganda work. Besides serving as an asylum for the poor, it also became a great instrument for advertisement and popularity and it gave a definite direction to the charities of the Guru's followers".[31]

The Guru divided his spiritual empire into twentytwo Manjis (seats). The number of Sikhs had greatly increased and it was difficult for the Guru to deliver instruction in person to all his disciples. This system (Manjis) went a long way in strengthening the foundations of the Sikh church. He also

introduced new ceremonies for birth and death, and asked Sikhs to perform these ceremonies differently from those of the Hindus, which were very orthodox and uneconomical. He decried the practice of calling Hindu priests for the performance of death and marriage ceremonies, which now became very simple and inexpensive. He popularised the Gurmukhi (Panjābi) language, since the Guru thought it would be of more general advantage to present his message in the dialects of his people. The Brahmans delivered their instruction in Sanskrit, which they deemed the language of the gods, but it was not commonly understood by the people. On this account all the Sikh Gurus had composed their hymns in the language of the people, and enshrined them in the Gurmukhi characters, so that men and women of all castes and creeds may read and understand them. He prohibited the practice of Sati and the drinking of wine; he also denounced Purda (covering of the face by women). He gave a new mode of salutation when the Sikhs were to meet one another.

These social reforms introduced by Guru Amar Das must be regarded as a turning point in the history of Sikhism. Under his auspices the name of the infant church spread far and wide, rudiments of a separate and distinct organisation were given to the Sikhs and new forms and practices were introduced to supersede the old and so bind the neophytes more closely together. Guru Angad had, no doubt, done something to give the Sikhs an individuality of their own. But it was under Guru Amar Das that the difference between a Hindu and a Sikh became more pronounced and the Sikhs began gradually to drift away from the Hindu society and form a class, a sort of new brotherhood, by themselves.

GURU RAM DAS — 1574-1581

Ram Das, son of Thakar Das, was born in Chuna Mandi, Lahore, in 1591 B.E. (1534 A.D.).[32] Though he was called Ram Das, yet he was generally known as Jetha,[33] a name which means the first born. Ram Das was a man of considerable merit and of a quiet and peaceful disposition. He became famous for his piety, devotion, energy and eloquence. He devoted himself to literary pursuits and expounded his doctrines in beautiful and appealing hymns.

Guru Ram Das was also favoured by Akbar. He gave him, in 1577,[34] a grant of five hundred Bighas of land, containing a natural pool, in the Pargana of Jhubal in Amritsar District. Akbar also offered the Guru one hundred and one golden coins.[35] The pool was changed into a tank and round about it grew the city of Amritsar, which became the Mecca of the Sikhs, both

religiously and temporally. The choice of the site was very wise, for the country around it was inhabited by hardy Hindu peasants, who could provide robust recruits to the new community. A commercial town was bound to increase progressively the revenue of the church, and prove advantageous for the propagation of the new dispensation. The importance which the Guru attached to the trade and commerce was apt to stress the dignity of labour, encourage crafts, arts and industry and foster the spirit of enterprise, all of which proved to be a great asset not only to the Sikhs but, in the long run, to the Hindus and the Muslims also. Guru Ram Das nominated his third son Arjan, a young man of eighteen, to be his successor, since he was the ablest and the most promising. With his appointment the principle of hereditary succession came into its own for the first time, though it was out of tune with the democratic convention obtaining till then. Guru Ram Das died in September 1581.[36]

GURU ARJAN — 1581-1606

Bibi Bhani, wife of Guru Ram Das, gave birth to Arjan at Goindwal on Tuesday, the 7th day of the dark half of Baisakh, Samvat 1620 (1563 A.D.).[37] The youngest son, he came into a large inheritance; and Sikhism during his term of office began to assume more definite proportions as an actually new community. Its number had been growing, although the total was not yet large. These were the members of the order in many villages "and the Sikhism had come to acquire, primarily through its Sangats and Masands, a far-flung and, at the same time, a centralised organisation."[38] Arjan set himself to the task of consolidation and organization of the Sikhs. He went on tours, preaching and organizing Sangats or congregational worship, which he declared to be of greater merit than individual worship. He re-organized and gave a permanent character to those missionaries, who had been appointed by his predecessors to spread the Sikh religion and collect the offerings of the faithful. The Sikhs were exhorted "to give a tithe of their substance to God." In a way, such offerings were made compulsory. The Masands and their deputies, called Meoras, collected the offerings from place to place. "This band of Guru's agents (Masands) was stationed in every city from Kabul to Dacca, wherever there was a Sikh, to collect the tithes and offerings of the faithful; and this spiritual tribute, so far as it escaped speculation by the agents, reached the central treasury at Amritsar."[39] They were not allowed to use the revenue so collected for their own use. Thus a steady flow of revenue to the central treasury at Amritsar was assured, which made it possible for the Guru to found towns like Tarn Taran, Amritsar, Kartarpur and Jullundur and undertake extensive

building and excavation operations. In the middle of the Amristar tank he began to build the Golden Temple, which was calculated to become a central place of worship for the Sikhs — a sort of Kaba[40] of the Muslims.

ARJAN AND AKBAR

Akbar also paid a flying visit to Guru Arjan at Goindwal on November 24, 1598, while on his way back to Delhi from Lahore, and was much impressed by his saintly bearing. Arjan brought to the notice of the Emperor the havoc wrought by the recent famine. The complaint bore fruit and the revenue for that year was remitted[41] and relief was granted to the sufferers by the issue of grain from the imperial granaries. This contributed a great deal to the increase of the Guru's popularity.

The lenient policy of Akbar gave the Sikh Gurus an opportunity to carry on their socio-religious work as best as they could. The Emperor saw nothing particularly objectionable either in the movement or in the organization. Arjan's term of office coincided with the latter half of Akbar's reign, a period of intellectual quest when Akbar's restless, inquiring mind sought the revelation of absolute truth from somewhere. Sikhism might have hoped to make considerable progress but for its being an eye-sore to the landed and religious aristocracy of the Panjāb. At this time Sirhind was the centre of a very orthodox revivalism among the Mulsims. It was led by Shaikh Ahmad-ul-Faruqi of Sirhind (born in 1563-64), head of an orthodox Sufic order. About the close of the sixteenth century he was initiated in the Naqshbandi order at Delhi. He claimed to unite in himself the spiritual powers of all the religious orders of orthodox Islam. The Shaikh bitterly opposed Guru Arjan's activities.

There were political considerations also, with their own social and religious implications, that led to the larger world of the Mughals to take increasing notice of the Sikhs now. It was Arjan who organized them. He gave them a written rule of faith in the Adi Granth; he provided a common rallying point in the city of Amritsar, which he made their religious as well as political rendezvous; and he reduced their voluntary contributions to a systematic levy, which accustomed them to discipline and paved the way for further organization. He was further unable wholly to abstain from politics, and became a political partisan of the Mughal Prince Khusrau, who was in rebellion[42] against his father Jahangir, the then Emperor of India.

ARJAN AND JAHANGIR

During his flight through the Panjāb, Khusrau the rebel Prince met the Guru who congratulated him, put a saffron mark

on his forehead, gave him his blessings and some financial help. Khusrau had visited the Guru during his grandfather Akbar's lifetime and to whom the Prince now represented himself as a distressed, forlorn individual.[43]

Khusrau was defeated at Bhairowal as already stated, taken prisoner along with Hussain Beg Badakhshi and Abdur Rahim, his most trusted generals, as well as seven hundred more men who were publicly humiliated[44] and impaled on stakes about the city. The leaders were given brutal punishment and the rebel Prince Khusrau, Jahangir's own son, was blinded and tortured. All his sympathizers were heavily punished.

Khusrau's rebellion had incensed Jahangir and he was in no mood to condone Arjan's action. The Guru's plain explanation that he had no other motive than of showing kindness and gentleness to the grandson of Akbar, in his forlorn and miserable condition, did not carry any weight with Jahangir, who imposed a fine of two or two and a half lakhs on Arjan. The Guru refused to pay on the ground that he had no money of his own. At this Jahangir ordered that the Guru be imprisoned. Accordingly, his residence and children were handed over to Murtaza Khan, his property was confiscated and he himself was put to death.[45] Jahangir did not say or do anything more against the Sikhs. There was no other charge against the Sikhs and Jahangir did not show any sign that he wanted to further persecute them on purely religious grounds. The execution of the Guru was based on political motives. Indeed all those people who had sided with the rebel Prince, such as Hussain Beg, Abdur Rahim and Amba Parsad, were punished most barbarously. All those implicated, irrespective of their caste and creed, were equally and severely punished.

The writer agrees with Dr. Beni Prasad that, "Without minimizing the gravity of Jahangir's mistake, it is only fair to recognize that the whole affair amounts to a single execution, due primarily to political reasons. No other Sikh was molested. No interdict was laid on the Sikh faith. Guru Arjan himself would have ended his days in peace if he had not espoused the cause of a rebel."[46] This view is further supported by Sharma when he states, "Had Jahangir's persecution of the Guru been directed by religious motives, he would have persecuted the Sikhs as well. Neither Sikh tradition nor Muslim fanaticism tells us anything of any further persecution of the Sikhs."[47] "This was not clearly a case of religious persecution, but merely the customary punishment of a political offender."[48] That Jahangir was not pronouncedly against the Sikh religion is also borne out by the fact that he did not persecute the Sikhs as a community. The Guru, in a way, himself brought on his end, as he neither paid the fine nor allowed his followers to raise the amount because he felt that by embra-

cing death he would serve the cause of Sikhism better than by obtaining a fresh lease of life on payment of the fine.[49]

In fact Arjan is celebrated not only as the compiler of the Adi Granth, but as the first Guru to assume the temporal as well as the spiritual control over his followers. Making Amritsar his headquarters, he established himself as the administrative head of the community, and framed laws to regulate its social and political life. The rapid development of the Sikhs at this time and the growing influence of their Guru soon led to trouble with the Mughals, and the persecution of their faith by the Mughal Emperors may be said to date from Arjan's martyrdom.[50]

On 22nd day of Jeth 1663 Samvat (June 1606 A.D.),[51] the Guru died and, according to his instructions, his body was thrown into the Ravi. His tomb was erected opposite the fort of Lahore, on the spot where he breathed his last. Its reaction on the Sikhs, however, was very different. It sent a thrill of horror among them. They endured it with grim patience.

GURU HARGOBIND—1606-1645

Hargobind was born at Wadali in 1595.[52] A new era began in the history of the Sikhs with his accession to the guruship. The sad and disquieting news of the painful death of Guru Arjan was conveyed to him with an inspiring message, "To bid him not to mourn or indulge in unmanly lamentation, but to sing God's praises." He was exhorted to "sit fully armed on his throne, and maintain an army to the best of his ability."[53] Hargobind took to heart the dying injunction of his father. Unlike his father, he constantly trained himself in martial exercises. He issued an encyclical letter to the Masands[54] to the effect that he would be pleased with those who brought offerings of arms and horses, instead of money.[55]

The martyrdom of his father proved to be a turning point in the history of the Sikhs, inasmuch as it enjoined on the Sikhs a new charter to include deliberately and develop methodically righteous militancy, and to make Sikhism a church-militant and Hargobind a soldier-saint. "He infused military ardour into his disciples, and soon a formidable body of fighting men was at his command. At times he found it expedient to place his force at the service of the Emperor; but his general attitude towards the Mughals of this province was uncompromising."[56]

He laid the foundation of the Akal Takhat in 1606. The city of Amritsar was strengthened by a small fortification, which he called Lohgarh. His fame as a patron of martial spirit attracted the best warriors and wrestlers, from whom he selected his bodyguards and fighting men. The soldiers enlisted by the Guru were not mercenaries; the best of them were either volunteers

or took only two meals a day, a uniform, a horse and weapons. The Sikhs were expected to settle all disputes among themselves.[57] "It was not long before rumours, whether couched in terms of the 'last words of Arjan' or in others, began to pass through the Indian bazaars and along the pilgrim routes that a change of mood prevailed among the Sikhs. In the Greater Garden some ploughshares were being beaten into swords and the pruning hooks were becoming spears. A fellowship of reconciliation was assuming martial form."[58]

The official reporters and the enemies of the Guru, particularly Chandu Shah,[59] pointed out to Jahangir the implications of this new policy of Hargobind. The Emperor called the Guru and asked him to pay the fine which was imposed upon his father, but the Guru refused to pay. Thereupon he was arrested and sent as a state prisoner to the fort of Gawaliar,[60] where generally the important political offenders were kept.

There are divergent views regarding the period of his imprisonment. Mohsan-i-Fani, the author of Dabistan-i-Mazahib, the contemporary of Hargobind, states that "Guru Hargobind had to remain as a prisoner in the fort of Gawaliar for twelve years, on scanty rations."[61] Indu Bhushan Banerjee states that at the most the Guru remained imprisoned for five years, from 1607 to 1612.[62] Teja Singh is of the opinion that the Guru might have remained in Gawaliar for not more than two years, from 1612 to 1614.[63] The Sikh writers, most of whom vaguely confine the Guru's imprisonment to a period of only forty days, state that a pious Sikh named Bhai Jetha, who went on a mission to Delhi to secure the Guru's release, succeeded in soothing the Emperor, who had been troubled with fearful visions. As a result of the pleading of Wazir Khan, a Mughal noble, the Guru was released from the fort of Gawaliar.[64]

On account of such wide disagreement among historians, and also on account of the paucity of contemporary material available on this topic of great controversy, it is difficult to form any concrete opinion as to the exact term of imprisonment of the Guru in the fort of Gawaliar. However, going through the available sources and working out their accuracy, the Guru's confinement for forty days, as stated by the Sikh traditions, seems to be more correct or it could have been a little longer, but definitely not more than a year or so. After this Hargobind took care to avoid an outright clash with anybody and particularly with the Mughals. But a new epoch in the career of Hargobind started with the death of Jahangir. The author of the Dabistan-i-Mazahib, writes that the growing military strength and royal pomp of the Guru, his wordly spirit and tastes made a conflict between him and the Mughal Government inevitable and it broke out after Shah Jahan's accession.[65] "That the Guru was becoming a potential source of

disaffection, was clear from his alleged recruitment of malcontents and fugitives from justice and the asylum that he extended to disaffected chiefs."[66] Besides his own regular followers, he had also enlisted band of Afghan mercenaries. The marauders and dacoits that entered freely into his ranks made him a centre of turbulence and danger. The recruitment of the Afghan mercenaries like Painda Khan made the Emperor realize that the Guru's aim of taking such people into his fold could be no other than but political.

This state of affairs brought about an open quarrel between the Guru and Shah Jahan. The cause of the conflict was insignificant. It so happened one day that when Shah Jahan was going from Lahore towards Amritsar, a hawk belonging to the Emperor was seized by one of the Guru's followers.[67]

At this, Mukhlis Khan,[68] the Mughal general, marched from Lahore at the head of seven thousand troops. Several minor skirmishes took place in which two Sikh leaders lost their lives after a gallant fight. Painda Khan, an Afghan, the commander of the Sikh contingent, stemmed the fury of the enemy onslaught, while the final charge led by the Guru himself completed the rout of the Mughal troops.[69]

The imperial army was defeated near Amritsar and returned to Lahore after losing many, killed and wounded. "This was the first combat in the annals of the Panjāb, which was fought between the Great Mughals and the Sikhs."[70]

This success, however, did not elate the Guru with pride. He retired to the jungles of Bhatinda, knowing the strength and resources of Shah Jahan better.

BATTLE OF LAHIRA — 1631

One Bidhi Chand,[71] a notorious freebooter known afterwards as Baba Bidhi Chand, stole two of Shah Jahan's best horses from the imperial stables at Lahore and brought them to the Guru.[72] This inflamed the anger of the Emperor. Military preparations were, therefore, made on a large scale and the command of the Mughal forces was entrusted to Qamar Beg and Lal Beg. The Royal forces moved towards the barren country of Bhatinda and both the armies met at Lahira, a small village situated in Bhatinda. "Lack of provisions and the difficulties of the march had a disastrous effect on the Mughal forces. They were reduced to great straits and, being defeated by the Sikhs, fled to Lahore, leaving its commanders slain in the battle."[73]

Hargobind having twice beaten the Mughal army in the open field, now began to entertain some degree of confidence in his own power, and in the powers of his followers. He, therefore, crossed the Beas and established himself at Kartarpur where he

collected a large army and patiently awaited a favourable opportunity for renewing hostilities with Shah Jahan. However, according to the author of Dabistan-i-Mazahib, the Guru fled to Kartarpur and the various Sikh accounts appear to lend some credence to this view.[74]

BATTLE OF KARTARPUR — 1634

After a short spell of three years of peace, war again broke out between the Sikhs and the Mughals. Painda Khan, the Afghan ex-general of the Sikh troops, had left the service of the Guru after a quarrel and joined Shah Jahan.[75] The Emperor sent another big expedition against the Guru, commanded by Painda Khan and Kale Khan. Baba Bidhi Chand and Baba Gurditta gave them a tough fight. Kale Khan and Painda Khan were both killed in the battlefield. Thus, the Mughals failed to gain a single decisive victory against the Guru.

Hargobind totally changed the peaceful character of Nanak's followers, who now laid aside their rosaries and buckled on the sword in defence of their faith. He first formed the Sikhs into a military body.[76] His popularity grew with the warlike Jats who, being oppressed in their villages, joined him in large numbers. The Guru's camp became their home and the plunder of the Muhammadan oppressors, their lawful prey. The fighting spirit of the Sikhs having been roused and their mettle proved, they became a power to be reckoned with. Hargobind was looked upon by the Sikhs not only as a divine messenger, but as an accomplished swordsman, a hero, and a thorough master of the art of war.[77]

All the same, constant pressure, which the Mughals exerted on the rising power of the Sikhs, brought to a virtual standstill the work of religious propaganda. It resulted in much suffering to the Sikhs and even threatened to annihilate the Sikh fraternity, as it was sustained almost entirely by its own strength and received little support from the Hindu population of the Panjāb. The Guru was shrewd enough to see that his limited means would not last indefinitely, being no match, in the long run, to well-nigh inexhaustible resources of the Mughal Emperor. He, therefore, decided to give some respite to the community and spend his time in meditation and the recouping of his strength. Consequently he retired to the Shivalik hills and made Kiratpur, in Hoshiarpur District, as his headquarters. Guru Hargobind died in 1645, after installing Har Rai, the son of his eldest son, to the guruship.[78]

GURU HAR RAI — 1645-1661

Guru Har Rai was born of Gurditta's wife, Nihal Kaur, in 1631, at Kiratpur.[79] He was very attentive to his devotions.

After the death of Guru Hargobind a period of disintegration commenced. Guru Arjan had practically established the organization of his followers on peaceful lines and under Guru Hargobind, Sikhism had however begun to develop military lines. A tradition had, thus, been created — a tradition which was destined to transform the idiology of the Sikhs and the Sikhism; but that consummation was still more than half a century off, and right now the force of disruption succeeded in making considerable headway. The deterioration of the Masand system and the intervention of the state soon brought about a situation in which the centrifugal tendencies were very much in evidence.

The relations between the Sikhs and the Mughal Government remained cordial till 1657, when, after the war of succession, Shah Jahan was imprisoned and Aurangzeb succeeded to the throne of India.

GURU HAR RAI AND AURANGZEB

Dara Shikoh was defeated by Aurangzeb and the former had to flee towards the Panjāb. The Guru was friendly with the Prince who had been paying him visits as a mark of respect, in keeping with his general devotion to Sadhus (saints), and the Guru had blessed him when he came as a fugitive to the Panjāb after the war of succession. The Guru was by nature inclined towards spiritualism. The Prince had sought shelter and the Guru welcomed him and gave all moral and spiritual help.[80]

Aurangzeb sent for the Guru immediately after his succession, as he was annoyed with the Guru for the help, whether active or passive, given by him to rebel Dara. The Guru, in consultation with the Sikhs, sent, in his stead, Ram Rai, his eldest son, with the injunctions that Ram Rai should remain "true to his faith and never to swere from it whatever the circumstances might be".[81] "He also impressed on him the propriety of not countenancing any objections the Emperor might make to the Granth Sahib, but of replying to him patiently and to the purpose. The Emperor Jahangir told my great grand father Guru Arjan, that certain passages reflecting on the Muhammadans ought to be expunged, but he indignantly refused, and said, he would never alter or abridge the writings of the Gurus. He suffered much in consequence; but he never flattered any one."[82]

The Emperor asked Ram Rai whether the Guru wrote against Islam in the Adi Granth and a verse of the Asa-di-Var was read out to Ram Rai :

> "Mitti Musalman ki pere pai Kumiar,
> Ghar bhande ittan kian, jaldi kare pukar."[83]

Ram Rai began to reflect and was in a great fix as to how to please Aurangzeb. He, therefore, determined to alter the line

of Guru Nanak from the Adi Granth in order to gratify the Emperor. Altogether forgetting or ignoring his father's parting injunctions, he said : "Your Majesty, Guru Nanak wrote that 'Mitti Beimanki', that is, the ashes of the faithless and not of the Muslims fall into the potters clay."[84]

The Sikhs of Delhi lost no time in reporting Ram Rai's perfidy to the Guru, who was much distressed at the insult to Guru Nanak and the Adi Granth. The Guru declared him unfit for the exalted position of the guruship and decided to nominate his younger son, Har Kishan, who was then just a child of five years. Guru Har Rai died in 1661.[86]

GURU HAR KISHAN — 1661-1664

Har Kishan was born in 1656.[87] As stated, his elder brother Ram Rai had shown cowardice in the court of Aurangzeb and was disinherited. Har Kishan was nominated by his father as his successor. He succeeded to the guruship in 1661, when he was only five years and three months old. He is styled as the "Child Saint".

His disinherited elder brother Ram Rai was popular at the court of Aurangzeb and was also very jealous of the Guru. He, therefore, complained to Aurangzeb against Har Kishan or against the decision of his father which had set aside his superior claims.

The complaint of Ram Rai was admitted and the Emperor summoned the infant Guru to his presence.[88] "Thus Aurangzeb was given an opportunity of intervening in a matter which, by all means, should have been kept away from him and the whole incident showed up the Sikhs in a light which was hardly dignified."[89] Taking advantage of the disputed succession to the guruship, the Masands (tithe collectors) collected and kept the greater part of the offerings for themselves.[90] Aurangzeb issued orders to the Guru to repair to Delhi. The young Guru left Kiratpur in 1664 and forbade the Sikhs to proceed with him. On his arrival at Delhi, the Guru put up with Raja Jai Singh. The Guru after a short stay, fell ill and, before meeting the Emperor, died of smallpox in Chet, 1721 Samvat (1665 A.D.).[91]

GURU TEGH BAHADUR — 1664-1675

Tegh Bahadur, the youngest son of the sixth Guru, Hargobind, was born in what is now called Guru-da-Mahal at Amritsar, in 1622.[92] After travelling through the various parts of India, Guru Tegh Bahadur settled at Kiratpur.[93]

Aurangzeb had issued a proclamation throughout the empire that the Hindus should embrace Islam, and that those who did

so would receive Jagirs, state service and all the ammenties granted to royal favourites.[94] The experiment of conversion was first tried in Kashmir. Sher Afghan Khan, Aurangzeb's Viceroy, set about converting the Kashmiris by sword and massacred those who persisted in their adherence to the faith of their forefathers. The Hindus who did not want to be converted and whom Sher Afghan Khan's troops could not capture, fled the country. Even the Muslims who in any way assisted the Hindus were mercilessly put to death.[95]

At last Sher Afghan Khan began to reflect that there had been too much slaughter. He sent for the Kashmiri Pandits and informed them of the Emperor's orders. The Kashmiri Pandits asked for a respite of six months to make up their minds about the conversion. The time limit was granted and when the period of six months was about to lapse and they could not find any way out, they all approached Guru Tegh Bahadur, who was then at Anandpur,[96] and related their sad story as to how the Hindus in their own homeland were being converted. They implored him to preserve the honour of their faith in whatever way he deemed fit.[97]

Tegh Bahadur told the Kashmiris to go in a body to Delhi and make the following representation to Aurangzeb : "Guru Tegh Bahadur, the ninth Sikh Guru, is the protector of the Hindu faith and religion. First make him a Musalman and then all the Hindus, including ourselves, will, of our own accord, adopt the faith."[98]

At this representation the royal summons was despatched to the Guru at Anandpur. Tegh Bahadur went to Delhi under guard and was arrested as a public enemy. He was tried as an unbeliever. There were many more prisoners of this category in Delhi at that time. The outcome was a sentence of death and he was soon publicly executed,[99] at a place later to become the Chandni Chowk. He was, in fact, beheaded; his headless body long remaining exposed in public, was then quartered and a portion of it hung at each of the city's four gates. His head was stolen by a faithful Sikh who carried it to Anandpur, where it was cremated.

"The execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur proved a baptism of fire. It helped his son and successor Guru Gobind Singh to transform the Sikhs into the fiery warriors as they proved themselves in the eighteenth century."[100] "His execution was universally regarded by the Hindus as a sacrifice for their faith. The whole of the Panjāb began to burn with indignation and revenge."[101] "The dragon's teeth thus sown at Delhi in the blood of the martyred Guru Tegh Bahadur, soon brought to harvest an abundant crop."[102]

GURU GOBIND SINGH — 1675-1708

Gobind Singh was born at Patna, in 1666.[103] He was only ten years of age when his father died, leaving him the guruship; but he had shared his father's company and had become imbued with thc consciousness of the mission. Heh ad received counsel from his dying father that he should keep his seat fearlessly at Anandpur and destroy the Turks, i.e. the Mughals.[104]

Guru Gobind Singh oecame a champion of the lowly people of North India and an irreconcilable foe of Muslim rule, affording Sikhism opportunity for further integration and eventual expansion. Up to and including his time, the Sikhs had dwelt mostly within the triangular region enclosed by the Beas and the Satlej rivers and the Himalayan mountains. Nor had they any base or headquarters in the real sense. Islam as a religion was still extraneous to this region, and the Hinduism prevalent there was of a mediocre quality, and static. However, not until the last decade of the seventeenth century was the Guru able to establish a permanent, effective order, the Khalsa, expressive of Sikh solidarity and political ambition.

The policy of armed resistance, which had been almost wholly abandoned by the successors of Guru Hargobind, again became prominent under him. The Guru had settled at Paunta,[105] leaving Anandpur, his father's headquarters, because Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspur had become jealous of him.[106] Bhim Chand attacked the Guru in 1682, but he had to retreat leaving behind many dead in the field.

It appears that the root of the matter went even deeper, as the Guru was growing too strong for Bhim Chand. The followers of the Guru sometimes ravaged the adjacent villages. Raja Bhim Chand, therefore, sought the help of other hill Rajas to form an alliance. The defeat sustained by Bhim Chand in 1682 ever rankled in his bosom and he counted on the aid of the other hill chiefs to make a combined effort to defeat and expel the Sikhs.[107]

The hill Rajas fell upon the Guru at Paunta. They also enlisted the band of five hundred Afghans, who had been recruited by Guru Gobind Singh on the recommendation of Pir Budhu Shah[108] of Sadhaura.[109] Five hundred Udasis who were being fed from the Guru's free kitchen for a long time, also deserted the Guru, along with the Afghans. The Guru had hardly two hundred and fifty disciples to encounter this large army of the hill chiefs.[110] A pitched battle was fought on April 6, 1687.[111] The loss inflicted by the Sikhs was very considerable. They pursued the enemy with heavy slaughter and returned with enormous booty and trophies of war.[112] The services of all those who fought for the Guru were suitably rewarded.[113] The victory instilled great hope and confidence among the Guru's followers.

It convinced the Sikhs that, if they were properly organized and trained, they would be able to fight successfully against every type of tyranny. So far the Guru and his Khalsa lived precariously at times, though always on the lookout for an opportunity to strike. In 1687, the Guru was finally prepared for action beyond his hilly confines. The troops were collected and drilled for an offensive.

After this battle, the Guru had shifted to Anandpur, where he established a workshop in which guns, rifles and arms of all sorts were manufactured. He also set up, during the following two years, the forts of Anandgarh, Lohgarh,[114] Keshgarh,[115] and Fatehgarh,[116] to protect himself against the attacks of his hill neighbours. Raja Bhim Chand also concluded peace with the Guru.[117]

BATTLE OF NADAUN

The Emperor Aurangzeb was away at that time in the Deccan and some of the Rajas of the Panjāb hill states wanted to take full advantage[119] of his absence. It had become apparent to many keen and interested observers that the once mighty empire of the Mughals was in the process of decay. The Guru also joined the confederacy of the hill chiefs. But this friendship and alliance with them brought the Guru into direct conflict with the Mughals. At the same time, Aurangzeb had deputed his army to collect revenue from the hill Rajas, as they had not been paying the royal tribute in regular instalments. He sent his commander-in-chief, Alif Khan, to levy tribute on Kripal Chand, Raja of Kangra, Kesari Chand, Raja of Jaswal, Prithi Chand, Raja of Dadhwal, Sukh Dev, Raja of Jasrota[120] and others. A bloody battle was fought at Nadaun, in which the Mughals were defeated.[121]

After this the governor of Lahore was ordered by the Emperor to despatch his son, Rustam Khan, with two thousand horse to surprise the Guru at Anandpur and to collect the revenue from the hill chiefs. After a nominal fight, he also lost heavily against the Sikhs, his difficulties being compounded by the inclement weather. This discomfiture inflamed the governor of Lahore and he despatched Ghulam Hussain Khan, who was known for his tyranny and hot temper, at the head of two thousand horse and foot soldiers. Some hill Rajas also joined Ghulam Hussain Khan. Another big army was also detailed from Lahore to subdue the Guru. The imperial forces drove out the Sikhs from Anandpur and plundered the town. But during the night, the Guru made a smashing attack and dispersed the imperial army with telling losses. Most of their baggage fell into the hands of the Sikhs.[122]

Hearing all about the disorder in the north, Aurangzeb sent his son Muazzam from the Deccan to pay personal attention to the

rebellions in the Panjāb hills. Muazzam reached Lahore and sent a large force under Mirza Beg against the Guru. But even Mirza Beg could not crush the power of the Sikhs.[123]

BATTLE OF ANANDPUR — 1701

Band after band of enthusiastic followers came to the Guru's support. The hill Rajas regarded the Guru as virtually an intruder. Also the creation of the Khalsa in 1699 was looked upon as a great danger by most of the hill chiefs. The Guru had denounced the caste system and image worship among his followers, which was taken as a direct attack on their religious feelings. The democratic teachings and the military zeal of the Guru was considered a serious menace for them. As Anandpur, the headquarters of the Guru, was situated in the territory of Raja Bhim Chand of Kahlur, he was greatly concerned. He wanted a pretext to turn the Guru out of his territory and sent a messenger with a letter demanding that the Guru should either relinquish the land he was occupying in his state or he should pay the rent; but the Guru flatly rejected both. On the other hand, the Sikh records give us the impression that the war was forced upon the Guru, and that he had no desire for running into hostilities, and that he was, on the contrary, eager for an understanding with these hill chiefs.

Consequently, Raja Bhim Chand, in alliance with other hill chiefs, besieged Anandpur. Instead of resorting to a frontal attack, the investing forces were ordred to surround Anandpur and stop all means of supply and communications. The battle raged for several days and Ajit Singh the son of the Guru, though a lad of about fourteen years, performed prodigies of valour.

Soon things came to such a pass that many people left their homes and retired to the forest for safety. The Kahlur chief was unable to give protection to his subjects and, to save them from the domination of the Sikhs, he decided to enlist the assistance of the Mughal Government.[126]

SECOND BATTLE OF ANANDPUR — 1703-1704

Hostilities between the hill cheifs and the Khalsa again broke out in 1703, as the Guru had greatly increased his military strength and even extended his territory at the expense of the hill chiefs. They again sought the help of the Mughals, which was immediately provided. The hill chiefs organized this second siege of Anandpur in such a fool-proof manner that neither goods nor persons could enter or leave the fort. At the request of the hill chiefs, Aurangzeb, once more, ordered an attack by despatching flanking forces, one under the command of the governor

of Lahore, the other under the command of Wazir Khan, the governor of Sirhind, whose seat was only thirty miles south of Anandpur. All the means of communication were thus controlled and the defenders experienced great hardship in getting supply of goods and water; a large number of Sikhs died of starvation, with the result that, after a few days, the Sikhs began to feel the desperateness of their position. Consequently they appealed to the Guru to surrender the fort, to which the Guru did not agree. Thereupon forty Sikhs from the Manjha (the residents of the Bari Doab) signed a disclaimer and left the Guru. The Guru did not lose his courage even then, but had to abandon the fort at the advice of his mother.

The Guru told the Mughal generals that he would surrender the fort provided his safe exit was guaranteed.[127] The Mughal generals and the hill chiefs unanimously agreed and the Guru left Anandpur in 1704 in all good faith.[128]

Hardly had he and his followers covered a few miles when the imperialists and the hill chiefs hotly chased the Guru, while he was quite unaware of this perfidy. Severe fighting ensued on the bank of the Sirsa[129] and, in the welter of confusion, the Guru, with his two eldest sons and forty Sikhs, made towards Rupar.[130] The allied forces continued to harass the Guru during his retreat. He left some of his men at Rupar to arrest their progress and himself went towards Chamkaur. On the way at Baru Majra he got intelligence that a fresh contingent of the imperial army was close at hand to capture the Sikhs.

Another hard-fought action was to take place at Chamkaur when artillery from Sirhind was ordered to be mobilised for the imperial attack.[131] The Mughal forces pursued the fugitives to Chamkaur and besieged the fortress. In this engagement the Sikhs lost many men, including the Guru's two sons.[132] The Guru himself escaped under cover of the night to the nearby town of Bahlol.[133] Thirty-five Sikhs out of the forty died fighting. The Guru took refuge in the jungles of Machhiwara. Wazir Khan, the governor of Sirhind, and a determined enemy of the Guru, had issued orders for his arrest. But the Guru again escaped during night in the guise of a Muslim saint and fled further towards the wastes of Bhatinda. Many of the besieged also escaped and rejoined the Guru at Bhatinda.

In the din and disorder that followed the fight near the Sirsa, Mata Gujri with her two younger grandsons, Jujhar Singh and Fateh Singh, had got separated from the main party and had taken shelter with one Gangu, who was a discharged cook of the Guru and a native of Kheri, a village near Sirhind. With the hope of getting a reward by surrendering them to the Subadar of Sirhind, Gangu took into confidence the headman of his village and, through him, informed the chief of Muranda. The latter

conveyed the two infants of the Guru, with their old grandmother, to Wazir Khan, the Subadar of Sirhind. The Nawab of Malerkotla made an attempt to save the lives of the boys, aged nine and seven, but Wazir Khan remained unmoved by any pleas for mercy. They were asked to embrace Islam and on their daring refusal to do so, were mercilessly executed.[134]

BATTLE OF KHIDRANA — 1706

After a short stay in the village of Raipur[135] and Kahlur to recoup his lost health and strength, the Guru journeyed to Muktsar[136] where the forty Sikhs of the Manjha, who had deserted him at Anandpur, again joined him.[137] The Guru was able to collect here twelve thousand fighting men. Muktsar, situated in the desert south of the bend of the Satlej river, was a comparatively safe retreat. Many of its Jat inhabitants were friendly to the Khalsa. It was usually dangerous and futile for a hostile expedition to venture into this recess of sand and distance.

Hearing the news of this new revival of the Sikhs, the governor of Sirhind sent a body of seven thousand[138] imperial troops to disperse the Guru's forces. A battle was fought between the imperialists and the Sikhs at Khidrana (Muktsar), in which the latter were victorious. A large number of soldiers fell on both sides in that action.[139]

When Aurangzeb had sent a summons to the Guru to appear in Delhi, Gobind Singh penned his famous lettere ntitled 'Zafar Nama' or victorious epistle, in defence. The letter reproached the Mughal Emperor for his false dealings, bad faith, high crimes and misdemeanors and rehearsed the merits of the Sikh religion and the Khalsa, assuring him that the Sikhs would one day take vengeance on him for his injuries to them. Later on the Guru made peace with Aurangzeb, but his reign bequeathed a tradition of hostility between the Sikhs and the Mughal Government. After this, the Guru and his Khalsa were left undisturbed for the remaining period from 1705 to 1707 — until the death of Aurangzeb.

The bitter memory of the execution of the ninth Guru and that of burying alive of the tenth Guru's two sons, was passed on by one generation to the other. The execution of the Guru's two younger sons at Sirhind laid the foundation for the bitter enmity between the Sikhs and the Mughals, which was later on made use of by Banda so successfully against Aurangzeb's successors.[140]

CONCLUSION

The indigenous population of the province had no commerce, no language, no inspiring religion of its own; and so the Panjāb

lay like a door-mat at the gate of the North-West of India. The people had lost all self-respect and fellow-feeling. It was at this time that the Sikh community, destined to play an important part in the history of mediaeval India during the period of religious revival in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, came into being. It was originally founded as a religious sect by Guru Nanak, a religious preacher with a saintly disposition, who emphasised the fundamental truth underlying all religions, and the chief features of whose system were its non-sectarian character and its harmony with secular life. Nanak proclaimed that God is one and that He was not subject to incarnation. He denounced the caste system and preached that all men and women were equal. He deplored untouchability and, by adopting the vernacular of the Panjāb for religious purposes, Nanak roused the national sentiment of the people. It was strengthened by the community of thought and ideal daily realised in congregational singing of the same religious hymns. These congregational gatherings (Sangats) linked up the lower strata with themselves and with their Guru as the centre of their organisation. His successor, Guru Angad popularised a separate script called the Gurmukhi, which would make them independent of the priestly class. Guru Amar Das strengthened the Sangats by narrowing their frontiers within manageable compass into twentytwo sub-provinces, for collection of tithe and for preventing any possible schism. He reformed the system of Langar (common kitchen) already started by his predecessors and put it on a more permanent footing. Guru Ram Das further strengthened the system by appointing regular missionaries called Masands and by providing a central rallying place at Amritsar. Guru Arjan built the Golden Temple at Amritsar and placed in it the Holy Granth compiled by him as the only authority for the Sikh religion. In it he included the writings of himself and his predecessors, along with some chosen hymns from Hindu and Muslim saints of India, most of whom were from the untouchable classes.

All these steps taken for the social evolution of the so far down-trodden people of the Panjāb created a stir in the official circles, and Arjan was believed to be creating a state within the state, which could not be tolerated by the Mughal rulers. The Guru was arrested and executed. This brutal execution on the part of the Mughal Government greatly offended the Sikhs and released forces of active discontent among them. However, their hostility to the Mughal Empire was not openly manifested at this time. But the next Guru, Hargobind, was inspired by Arjan to wear two swords, one spiritual and the other temporal, to transform the Sikhs. Hargobind was a man of warlike and adventurous spirit. He organised the Sikhs into a daring and disciplined fighting class and waged many successful battles with the imperial

armies. After his death there was a lull for some time under the next three Gurus; but at the execution of the ninth Guru the anger of the Sikhs knew no bounds. They rallied under the banner of Guru Gobind Singh, who inspired and moulded them into a vigorous and intrepid band of warrior-saints, called the Khalsa, to put the evil to an end and not to rest content until they had secured safety and dignity of life for the people of the Panjāb.

The main factors making for the rise of the Sikhs were that the Great Mughals had tried to nip in the bud this rising power, and they never hesitated to give coundign and inhuman punishments. But the rise of the Sikhs could not be checked on account of their nascent religious spirit, keen zest for gaining freedom, and a close unity of brotherhood, maintained by common grievances, common feelings and common objectives, which kept them in a cheerful frame of mind even under those trying circumstances. There were some more vital reasons for the rapid rise of this community. They began to gain power and independence when the Mughal Empire had lost its drive and energy, and when internal turmoil, the conspiracies of an intemperate court, the revolt of distant governors and the frequent eruptions of foreign invaders from the North-West, were fostering the pursuit of selfish interest and a general slackening of allegiance. These external advantages, coupled with the intrinsic worth of the Sikhs, enhanced their aspirations. Firm faith and high hope on the one hand and power of resistance and tenacity of purpose on the other formed the main features of the Sikh character.

Aurangzeb's fanaticism and his deliberate policy of compelling the people to turn Muslims brought about an irreconcilable breach between the Sikhs and Mulsims. And Guru Gobind imbued with rare courage, fervour and devotion to the Sikh cause, transformed his people into a virily military community and named it the Khalsa. He wanted the Sikhs to conform to the democratic ideals and fearlessly lay down their lives for the defence of their religion and country. He brought a new race into being and infused a new dynamic force into the arena of Panjāb history. He further asked his men to give up all caste distinctions and restrictions about food and drink. A new initiation into the Khalsa was prescribed and its members were made to believe that they were a chosen people. Guru Gobind Singh's Sikhism, thus, became a veritable counterblast to Aurangzeb's Islam, and under his command the Khalsa pursued the policy of fighting fanaticsm with fanaticism.

NOTES

1. *Khulasa-ut-Tawarikh* — Sujan Rai, Text (1918), p. 49.
Nanak Parkash, Vol. I — Santokh Singh, p. 149.
Prachin Panth Parkash — Rattan Singh Bhangoo, p. 8.

History of the Sikhs — Cunningham, p. 35.
The Sikh Religion, Vol. I — Macauliffe, p. 1.
The Sikhs — Archer, p. 65.
Janam Sakhi — Bhai Bala, p. 5.
Dabistan-i-Mazahib, Text, p. 223.

2. It is a small village then situated on the river Ravi, 35 miles south-west of Lahore, in the Sharakpur sub-division of Lahore District (*Later Mughals*, Vol. I — Irvine, p. 73).
   History of the Sikhs — Cunningham, p. 37.
   Khulasa-ut-Tawarikh — Sujan Rai, Text (1918), p. 69.
3. *Nanak Parkash* — Santokh Singh, p. 146.
4. *Var Majh, Mahalla I, Shalok* 16 (*i*), *Adi Granth*.
5. *The Divine Master* — Sewa Ram Singh, p. 7.
6. *The Divine Master* — Sewa Ram Singh, pp. 16, 17.
   Also read *Asa Mahala IV, Chhand* (6) 4, *Adi Granth*.
7. *Adi Granth*, p. 472.
8. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. I — Macauliffe, p. 111.
   Dabistan-i-Mazahib, Text, p. 224.
9. *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. 1 — Banerjee, p. 37.
10. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. I — Macauliffe, p. 177.
11. Bawa Budh Singh says *Mange-di-Sarai* — Hans Chog, p. 136.
    "He was born as tradesman in a trader's family in a Rajputana village," says Arther, p. 136, but without quoting any authority.
12. *Nanak Parkash* — Santokh Singh, Part-II, XLVII-3.
13. "Trehan or Tehun" (*Glossary of Panjab Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II — Rose, p. 512).
    Khulasa-ut-Tawarikh — Sujan Rai, Text, p. 49.
14. *Khulasa-ut-Tawarikh* — Sujan Rai, Text, p. 49.
15. *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. I — Banerjee (1963), p. 146.
16. *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. I — Banerjee (1963), pp. 153-56.
    The Sikhs — Archer, pp. 137, 138.
17. *Adi Granth* — Trumpp, Introduction, p. 11.
18. *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. I — Banerjee (1963), pp. 158, 159.
19. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II — Macauliffe, pp. 19, 20.
    Sher Shah — Qanungo, p. 226.
20. *Suraj Parkash*, Vol. II — Santokh Singh, pp. 1349-53.
21. *Suraj Parkash*, Vol. II — Santokh Singh, pp. 1349-53.
    History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion, Vol. I — Khazan Singh, p. 110.
22. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II — Macauliffe, p. 44.
    Khulasa-ut-Tawarikh — Sujan Rai, Text, p. 49.
    History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion, Vol. I — Khazan Singh, p. 110.
23. *Khulasa-ut-Tawarikh* — Sujan Rai, Text, p. 49.
    The Sikh Religion, Vol. II — Macauliffe, p. 30.
    History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion, Vol. I — Khazan Singh, p. 111.
    Suraj Parkash, Vol. II — Santokh Singh, p. 1367.
24. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II — Macauliffe, pp. 103-6.
25. *Suraj Parkash*, Vol. II — Santokh Singh, p. 1603.
26. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II — Macauliffe, p. 93.
27. *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. I — Banerjee, p. 171.
28. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II — Macauliffe, p. 151.
    Suraj Parkash, Vol. II — Santokh Singh, pp. 1624-26.
29. *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. I — Banerjee (1963), pp. 165, 166.
    The Sikh Religion, Vol. II — Macauliffe, pp. 63, 64.
30. "A Sati is not she who burneth herself on the pyre of her spouse, Nanak : A Sati is she who dieth with the sheer shock of separation" (*Adi Granth*, *Suhi ki Var*, p. 787).

31. *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. I (1963), pp. 158, 159.
32. *Suraj Parkash*, Vol. II — Santokh Singh, p. 1491.
    Khulasa-ut-Tawarikh — Sujan Rai, Text, p. 49.
33. *The Sikhs* — Archer, p. 141.
    Suraj Parkash, Vol. II — Santokh Singh, p. 1681.
34. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. III — Macauliffe, p. 1.
35. *History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion*, Vol. I — Khazan Singh, p. 116.
    Evolution of the Khalsa, Vol. I — Banerjee, p. 187.
36. *Ibid*, p. 117.
    Evolution of the Khalsa, Vol. I — Banerjee, p. 187
37. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. III — Macauliffe, p. 1.
    Khulasa-ut-Tawarikh — Sujan Rai, Text, p. 49.
    Evolution of the Khalsa, Vol. I — Banerjee, p. 187.
38. *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. I — Banerjee, p. 11.
39. *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. I — J. N. Sarkar, p. 308.
40. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. III — Macauliffe, p. 20.
    Evolution of the Khalsa, Vol. I — Banerjee, p. 192.
41. *Suraj Parkash*, Vol. II — Santokh Singh, pp. 1682, 1683.
42. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R & B, p. 72.
    Dabistan-i-Mazahib, Vol. II — David Shea, p. 273.
43. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R & B, pp. 52-59.
    Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri, Text, pp. 9, 10.
    History of India, Vol. VI — Elliot and Dowson, p. 448.
44. *History of India*, Vol. VI — Elliot and Dowson, pp. 290-301.
45. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R & B, pp. 72, 73.
    The Sikh Religion, Vol. III — Macauliffe, p. 101.
46. *History of Jahangir* — Beni Prasad (1962), p. 138.
47. *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors* — S. R. Sharma, p. 77.
48. *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. I — Jadunath Sarkar, p. 309.
49. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R & B, pp. 72, 73.
50. *A Short History of the Sikhs* — Payne, p. 31.
51. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. III — Macauliffe, p. 100.
52. *Khulasa-ut-Tawarikh* — Sujan Rai, Text, p. 49.
    The Sikh Religion, Vol. III — Macauliffe, pp. 35-39.
    Suraj Parkash, Vol. III — Santokh Singh, p. 1902.
53. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. IV — Macauliffe, p. 99.
54. Derived from the Persian word Masnad means a throne, a large cushion on which people recline — the royal or imperial throne. Here it means the sect of the tithe collector or the collector of revenue.
55. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. IV — Macauliffe, p. 3.
56. *A Short History of the Sikhs* — Payne, p. 32.
57. *The Sikhs* — Archer, p. 173.
58. *The Sikhs* — Archer, p. 171.
59. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. IV — Macauliffe, p. 10.
60. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. IV — Macauliffe, p. 21.
61. *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, Vol. II — David Shea, p. 274.
62. *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. II — Banerjee (1962), p. 10.
63. *History of the Sikhs* — Teja Singh, p. 73.
64. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. IV — Macauliffe, pp. 24-26.
65. *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. II — J. N. Sarkar, p. 310.
66. Ram Partap, the fugitive Raja of Jaisalmer took refuge with the Guru and that Yar Khan and Khawaja Sarai, dismissed commander of the Mughal Army, sought the Guru's asylum (*Transformation of Sikhism*— G. C. Narang, p. 106).
67. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. IV — Macauliffe, pp. 79, 80.
    Bhai Santokh Singh in *Suraj Parkash*, Vol. II, pp. 280, 281, says that the royal hawk was seized by the Guru himself with the help of his own arrow which flew and brought down the Emperor's hawk.

68. Later, Mukhlis Khan was replaced in Delhi by Qulij Khan.
History of Shah Jahan — Saxena, p. 64.
69. *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* — David Shea (1834), p. 276.
70. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. IV — Macauliffe pp. 82-93.
Gur Bilas — Gulab Singh and Sons, pp. 271-91.
Dabistan-i-Mazahib, Vol. 'II — David Shea, p. 275.
71. Muhammad Latif wrongly calls him Baba Budha, p. 256.
The horses were stolen by Bidhi Chand, a valliant Jat of Bist Jullundur Doab.
Suraj Parkash, Vol. IV — Santokh Singh, p. 3163.
72. These horses were brought by two Masands, Bakhat Mal and Tara Chand of Kabul but on the way they were seized by the Mughal officials, and sent to the imperial stables.
73. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. V — Macauliffe, pp. 156, 157.
History of the Panjab — Muhammad Latif, p. 256.
74. *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, Vol. II — David Shea, p. 275.
Panth Parkash — Rattan Singh Bhangoo, p. 113.
75. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. IV — Macauliffe, pp. 97, 98.
76. *Khulasa-ut-Tawarikh* — Sujan Rai, Text, p. 53.
Dabistan-i-Mazahib, Vol. II — David Shea, p. 237.
77. *Khulasa-ut-Tawarikh* — Sujan Rai, Text, p. 50.
History of the Panjab — Muhammad Latif, p. 257.
78. *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, Vol. II — David Shea, p. 280.
History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion, Vol. I — Khazan Singh, p. 139.
79. *Suraj Parkash*, Vol. III — Santokh Singh, p. 3117.
80. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. IV — Macauliffe, p. 203.
81. *History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion*, Vol. I — Khazan Singh, p. 14.
82. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. IV — Macauliffe, p. 308.
83. "Ashes of Muslims are mixed with potters' clay;
Bricks and vassels of the mixture cry as they burn" (*Asa di Var*, *Adi Granth*, p. 466).
84. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. IV — Macauliffe, p. 309.
85. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. IV — Macauliffe, pp. 314-17.
86. *History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion*, Vol. I — Khazan Singh, p. 145.
87. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. IV — Macauliffe, p. 315.
88. *Sri Gurpartap Suraj Granth*, Vol. 10 — Santokh Singh, pp. 3934-43.
89. *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. II — Banerjee, p. 52.
90. *Sri Gurpartap Suraj Granth*, Vol. 9 — Santokh Singh, pp. 3757-3760.
91. *Mehma-Parkash* — Sarup Dass Bhalla, p. 363.
Suraj Parkash, Vol. 10 — Santokh Singh, pp. 3934-43.
92. Gian Singh in his *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I, p. 213, says "19 Magha, 1678 Samvat" (1621 A.D.).
93. About 56 miles from Hoshiarpur. It stands at the foot of the Naina Devi peak, on the left bank of the Satlej.
94. "Aurangzeb ordered the temples of the Sikhs to be destroyed and the Guru's agents for collecting the tithes and presents of the faithful to be expelled from the cities." (*Muntakhab-ut-Lubab* — Khafi Khan, Text, p. 652).
95. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. IV — Macauliffe, p. 370.
96. About fifty miles from Hoshiarpur.
97. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. IV — Macauliffe, p. 372.
98. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. IV — Macauliffe, p. 372.
99. *History of the Sikhs* — Bhakhat Mal, p. 17-a.
Khulasa-ut-Tawarikh — Sujan Rai, Text, p. 70.
100. *The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors* — S. R. Sharma, p. 166.
101. *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. II — Banerjee, p. 63.
102. *The Sikhs* — J. N. Gordon, p. 36.

103. Samvat 1723 Bikram (1666 A.D.) — *Suraj Parkash*, Vol. III — Santokh Singh, pp. 4267, 4268.
104. *History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion*, Vol. I — Khazan Singh, pp. 162-204.
History of the Sikhs, Vol. I — McGregor, pp. 69-104.
105. Sirmur State, 29 miles from Nahan and 73 miles from Ambala.
106. *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I — Gyan Singh, p. 137.
107. This confederacy consisted of Raja Bhim Chand of Kahlur (Bilaspur), Raja Kirpal Chand of Katoch, Raja Sukhadial of Jasrota, Raja Hari Chand of Hindoor, Raja Pirthi Chand of Dadhwal, and Raja Fateh Chand of Srinagar. (*Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I — Gyan Singh, p. 140.)
108. "Khangah of Budhu Shah lies towards the east of Samadh (tomb) of Baba Gurditta, at Kiratpur, at a distance of quarter of a mile. Budhu Shah, a Muslim saint, was a great friend of Baba Gurditta.
109. Sadhaura is a small town situated near the hills, 26 miles east of Ambala on the Nakti or Sadhaurawali Naddi.
110. When Pir Budhu Shah heard that five hundred Afghans who were recruited by the Guru to his army on his recommendation had betrayed the Guru he at once came along with his four sons to the Guru to fight against the hill Rajas.
111. *History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion*, Vol. I — Khazan Singh, p. 168.
112. *Bachittar Nattak* — Gobind Singh, p. 20.
Guru Bilas, Vol. VI, pp. 96, 156.
Suraj Parkash, Vol. IV — Santokh Singh, p. 16.
113. *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I — Gyan Singh, p. 40.
114. Lohgarh was in time past a small stronghold of Guru Gobind Singh in his battles with the hill chiefs.
115. It is a famous, spot where Guru Gobind Singh administered Amrit (the Sikh baptism) to his first five disciples in 1699 making them 'Singhs' and declaring the Khalsa.
116. At Sirhind, the place where the two infant sons of Guru Gobind Singh were buried alive in 1704 by Bazid Khan, the Suba of Sirhind.
117. *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I — Gyan Singh, p. 141.
118. Nadaun is a petty town, on the left bank of the Beas, 20 miles south-east of Kangra town.
119. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. V — Macauliffe, p. 51.
120. *Bachittar Nattak*, Vol. VIII — Gobind Singh, pp. 11-13.
121. *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I — Gyan Singh, p. 142.
The Sikh Religion, Vol. V — Macauliffe, p. 304.
122. *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I — Gyan Singh, p. 142.
123. *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I — Gyan Singh, p. 151.
History of the Panjab — Muhammad Latif, p. 254.
124. *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. II — Banerjee, pp. 108-25.
125. *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I — Gyan Singh, p. 151.
History of the Panjab — Muhammad Latif, p. 264.
126. *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa*, Vol. I — Gyan Singh, p. 152.
127. "The envoy and the imperial officers used various means to ensure him of their good intentions and declaration bearing the Holy Quran as witness. All the Hindu hill Rajas submitted a joint letter with an image of a cow made of flour requesting evacaution of the fort and promising safety." (*History and Philosophy of the Sikhs Religion*, Vol. I — Khazan Singh, p. 184.)
128. *The Sikh Religion*. Vol. V — Macauliffe, p. 184.
Guru Sabha, Vol. XIII, p. 33.
129. A stream in Rupar Tehsil.
130. Most of the manuscripts, the result of years of literary labour and great expense were either lost in the affray or washed away by the stream.
131. *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri* — Inayat Ullah, ff. 55b-56a.

132. Ajit Singh and Jujhar Singh.
133. Bahlolpur is situated in Samrala Tehsil on the ridge over the Budha Nala seven miles east of Machhiwara and 27 miles from Ludhiana.
134. It is general belief among the Sikhs that the children were bricked into a wall and suffered to die in that position, but the authors of the *Suraj Parkash* and of the *Gur Bilas* state that both the sons of the Guru were put to death in the order of their ages by sword of the Ghilzai executioner. They died asking each other who should first have the honour of martyrdom. The two children Zorawar Singh and Fateh Singh aged seven and nine years, respectively, perished on the 13th Poh Samvat 1762 B.E. corresponding to 1705 A.D. (*The Sikh Religion*, Vol. V — Macauliffe, p. 198.)
135. Situated in Naraingarh Tehsil, Ambala.
136. Thirty miles east of Fazilka.
137. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. V — Macauliffe, pp. 211, 212.
138. *Akam-i-Alamgiri*, p. 20.
The Sikh Religion, Vol. V — Macauliffe, pp. 208-12.
139. The tank called Muktsar in Ferozepur District, was constructed by the Guru on the field with the blessing that "Whoever bathes in it, will obtain salvation." Hence, name 'Muktsar' given to it by the Guru, meaning the tank of emancipation. A great fair is held at Muktsar on the first of Magh (15th February) every year.
140. *Bachittar Nattak* — Gobind Singh, Chapter XII.

CHAPTER IX

ADMINISTRATION

CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

Babar and Humayun had neither the leisure nor the disposition to re-organise the administrative system. All the significant institutions of the Great Mughals may be attributed to the genius of Akbar. The administration of the Surs had completely broken down. Akbar had to begin almost from scratch. He was an original thinker and a constructive statesman of high calibre. He overhauled the entire administrative machinery from the bottom to the top. He evolved the central structure of the empire with ministries and departments to run the central government. He was the first Muslim ruler who set up a well-organized system of provincial government. He formulated a workable basis for the functioning of the revenue system and introduced the Mansabdari system and eradicated many of its evils.

PROVINCIAL STRUCTURE

The provincial structure of the Mughal government was exactly a miniature of that of the central government. The foundation of the Mughal administrative system lay in the division of the empire into provinces and districts. It was Akbar who divided his empire into Subas or provinces and made the governor of each Suba responsible for every branch of its administration. But the actual administrative unit from the beginning was the Sarkar or district, each of which had a military commander, distinct from the revenue officer. The districts were further sub-divided into the divisions (Mahals), which usually, but not invariably, coincided with the old Hindu local Parganas. In areas where the means of communications were scanty, a further sub-division was sometimes made into Tappas.[1]

The Mughal province of Lahore, as already stated, coincided roughly with the province of Panjāb under the British rule. The boundaries of the Mughal Panjāb expanded and contracted from time to time. In the early Mughal period the Panjāb extended from the river Satlej to the river Indus, a distance of 180 Kos, and its breadth extended from Bhimber to Chaukhandi, a distance of 86 Kos.[2] After Akbar, the Panjāb was divided into two provinces, viz : the Subas of Lahore and Multan. Kashmir and Kabul remained separate provinces. Satlej Panjāb up to Hissar remained under the governor of Lahore for some time. Though Multan, Kashmir and Kabul provinces were under the

direct control of their respective governors, they always acknowledged the supremacy of the governor of Lahore.

The main officials of the province were the governor, also known as Nazim or Subadar, the Dewan, the Bakhshi, the Waqai Nawis, the Sadr, the Qazi, the Bayutat, and the Censor. Their powers, functions and duties are briefly given below.[3]

Subadar. The principal duties of the Subadar[4] or Sipah-salar[5] or even Suba (governor) were to maintain order, to ensure the smooth and successful collection of revenue, and to execute the royal decrees and regulations sent to him.[6]

The provincial governor was placed at the head of the provincial administration. Minor provinces were occasionally entrusted to the governors of the adjoining provinces. This was done either to show a special favour to a person or for the sake of better supervison and control. In 1634, Ali Mardan Khan was made the governor of Lahore and Kashmir, which post he held until 1640.[7] On his accession, Shah Jahan appointed Yamin-ud-daulah, the governor of both Lahore and Multan provinces and the latter carried on the administration of Multan through his deputy Amir Khan, son of Qasim Khan.[8] Amir Khan was officially called the Subadar, although he was the deputy of the governor of the Lahore province.

The governor was charged with maintaining peace and preserving order, and to bring under his supervision the administration of all the departments, so far as carrying out of the imperial directions was concerned. He was to put down local rebellions, carry out minor military operations on his own in the province, or in the neighbouring areas, dispense justice, and listen to complaints against public servants. He recommended officers for promotion and imperial honours and collected the tributes due from the local feudatory chiefs and remitted these to the imperial treasury. He kept the Emperor informed of what was happening in the province and carried out the orders he received from the Emperor. He could conclude peace, but the terms made were subject to ratification by the Emperor, who could modify them or reject them as inadequate if he thought it necessary.[9]

The governors were always chosen from the capable military officers who were also gifted with executive ability. They were expected to be men of character and integrity. In particular, the selection of the Subadar of Lahore was a matter of real importance. The Great Mughals were always cautious to keep a strict control over this Frontier Province of the empire, since it separated the province of Kabul from India. As stated in the first chapter, the Himalayan wall of the north, a rugged stretch of mountainous country from Baluchistan to Kashmir inhabited

by ferocious tribes of Turko-Iranian origin, is pierced by a number of passes, the Khaibar, the Kurram, the Tochi, the Gomal and the Bolan. It always fell to the lot of the governors of Lahore province to deal with two main problems; first, to keep the frontier tribes under control and the second, to guard against aggression from beyond; e.g., Mir Yunis Ali had to deal with the Balochs,[10] and Mirza Kamran quelled the rebellion of Sam Mirza, the able successor of Shah Ismail of Iran.[11] Mir Muhammad, the Khan-i-Klan (1566-1568), dealt with the first invasion of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, the governor of Kabul and that of the Gakhars, a recalcitrant tribe of the Salt Range.[12] Sa'id Khan (1578-1585) had to face the second invasion of Mirza Muhammad Hakim in 1581.[13] During the governorship of Shaikh Farid (1610-1616), Ahdad's rebellion was crushed.[14] Because of the defensive needs of the province, Sher Shah Sur had to build the fort of Rohtas and Islam Shah had to establish five more strongholds, Mankot being one of them.[15] This frontier problem was so acute that Akbar had to shift his imperial headquarters from Agra to Lahore from 1584 to 1598, because the condition of Kabul and Kashmir provinces was very unsettled and the turbulent frontier tribes were continually causing disorder in the Panjāb.[16] Every Mughal Emperor was conscious about the strategic position of this province and thus appointed capable persons as governors who could grapple with the problem and find a lasting solution.

The Mughals never failed to react against incompetence or abuse and did not hesitate to remove even their favourite governors from their charge if their conduct was found to be unsatisfactory. Akbar was touring the Panjāb in 1578, when he was approached by some people who complained that Shah Quli Mohram (1575-1578), the governor, did not punish the oppressors and that, in consequence, the administration of justice was not on a good state. On inquiry the complaint was found correct and the governor was reprimanded and cashiered.[17] Shah Jahan dismissed Wazir Khan, the governor of the Panjāb, on the ground of oppression.[18] All the governors of the Panjāb, who held office during the period under our study, have been discussed earlier under their respective emperors.

Dewan. The provincial Dewan[19] was selected by the imperial Dewan and, being appointed directly from the imperial court, he was in no way subordinate to the governor. He acted directly under the orders of the imperial Dewan and was in every way responsible to him.[20]

The provincial Dewan was the second officer in rank in the province, but, as mentioned above, he was not subordinate to the Subadar. The latter was the head of the military, police and executive services, while the Dewan was the head of the civil and

the revenue departments. The Dewan was in charge of the finances also. His duties were to collect revenue, to keep accounts of expenditure and receipts, to disburse the salary of provincial officers and to administer civil justice. He was instructed to encourage the growth of agriculture and to keep a strict watch over the treasury. He was to scrutinize the accounts of the revenue collectors and to see that there were no arrears of revenue. He was required to send regular periodical reports to the imperial Dewan on the condition of the crops and other produce of the Panjāb.

The Dewan received all the records of the collections, remissions and arrears of land revenue from various parts of the province. His agents in different parts of the province realized sales tax, Rahdari dues, octroi and whatever other taxes were levied by the Emperor. It was his duty to see that money was spent only by proper authorisation, i.e., for the purposes approved by the Emperor or the imperial Dewan.

The Dewan maintained : (*i*) Records dealing with the executive departments and their answers, along with separate files of the revenue of the Mahals of the crown lands, under the seals and signatures of the Qanungos and Zamindars. The estimates, realisations and expenditure, together with Roznamachas[21] and Awarijas,[22] under the seal of the Karori (collector); (*ii*) records dealing with the department of the Mahals of the Jagir lands in the order of the amount of salaries granted by the Emperor; (*iii*) record of the department of counting the wells in each Pargana, signed by the Qanungos concerned; and (*iv*) records dealing with the departments of Inams, land commissions to Headmen, Qanungos and Maqaddams.

The following were the provincial officers of the Dewan's office : (*i*) The Peshkar or the secretary and personal assistant; (*ii*) the Daroga of the Dewan's court and office; (*iii*) the Mushrif, an inspector or head clerk; (*iv*) the Tehsildar-i-daftar-khana, treasurer of the office; and (*v*) the staff consisting of the Munsifs of the Kachehry,[23] such as the Huzur Nawis,[24] Suba Nawis,[25] the Muharir-i-Khalsa,[26] Muharir-daftar-i-tan,[27] Muharir-dafter,[28] the clerk in charge of weighing and measuring, the clerk in charge of imports. From the clerk to the treasurer, the writer of rates, the writer of news, the man in charge of the office and the peon and the watchman of the Kachehry, all were on the establishment of the provincial Dewan.

Bakhshi. The Bakhshi[29] was an equally important officer in the province and was usually second in command to the governor. He had to act as a provicial news-writer as well. He was in charge of the military establishment of the province. Under the instructions of the Mir Bakhshi, his subordinates at the Sarkars, the towns and the districts held yearly inspections

of horses and reviews of soldiers. He had to pay to the Mansabdars serving in the province.

At the time of an expedition it was the duty of the Bakhshi to see that all the Mansabdars and other officers were summoned to take part with their quota of men and horses. The Bakhshi was the chief commander of the army on that particular expedition and he had to look after the needs of the army, during the operation. He had to report to the Emperor all that happened in the province as a result of the expeditions and the progress of the work of the various departments in the province. By virtue of this position he could report provincial matters to the Emperor without referring to the governor of the province.[30]

Waqai Nawis. The agency through which the central government[31] learnt the news of the provinces consisted of : (*i*) Waqai Nawis;[32] (*ii*) the Sawani Nigar;[33] (*iii*) the Khufia Nawis;[34] and (*iv*) the Harkara.[35] At first Waqai Nawis were employed to report provincial occurrences, but owing to the suspicion of their entering into collusion with the local officers, a new set of officers, viz., Sawani Nigars (who, too, were called Khufia Nawis); were appointed to reside secretly in provinces and to report news. Eventually the latter were entrusted with the duty of supervising the postal arrangements within the province.[36] 'The reports of these officers were read out to the Emperor at night."[37] This branch of the intelligence department soon became very popular with the provincial governors, Dewans and with the Emperors, as it kept them informed of the happenings and conditions of their localities. It was on the basis of such a report that in 1578, when Akbar was touring the Panjāb, he found that actually the lands given as Madad-i-Maash had been encroached upon. The Emperor redressed the grievance.[38] Even such an occurrence as the death of a few travellers on the road by a sudden storm near Lahore was reported to Jahangir.[39]

The Waqai Nawis used to appoint agents in most of the small Parganas to report to him the occurrences of those places, out of which he selected what was fit for the Emperor's ears and incorporated it in the provincial news letters. In the offices of the governor, the Dewan, the Faujdar of the environs of the provincial capital, the court of justice,[40] he also maintained clerks who brought to him every evening a record of what had happened there during the day. In many of the important Parganas separate reporters were posted directly from the imperial court, to send to the provincial Siaha (ledger of receipts) data about the escheated Jagirs of Mansabdars who were dead, absconding or absent.[41]

Sadr and Qazi. Next to the Dewan, the most important officers were the heads of the judicial and religious departments. These two departments were often combined, although a distinction

seems to have been kept up between the jurisdiction of the various officials connected with this department.

It was the duty of the Sadr Qazi to recommend to the imperial department deserving cases of pious and learned men for the endowment of land. He also served as the head of the judicial department. In this capacity he was required to supervise the work of the Qazis of districts and towns. He dispensed justice, performed marriages among the high personages of the province, and acted as the Registrar-General for the whole province.[42]

A Qazi was also posted at every large town and the seat of a Faujdar. The smaller towns and the villages had no Qazi of their own; but any plaintiff living there could carry his suit to the Qazi of the neighbouring town in whose jurisdiction the small town or village lay.[43]

Dewan-i-Bayutat. Dewan-i-Bayutat[44] was the representative of the Khan-i-Saman in the province. He was an officer who registered the property of deceased persons in order to secure the payment of the dues to the state. He was to make provisions for the Karkhanas (factories) and fix the prices of articles. He looked after roads and buildings, supervised imperial stores and ran state workshops. He took charge of escheated properties. He also looked to the comforts of the Emperor whenever he was touring the province.[45]

DISTRICT ADMINISTRATION

The Panjāb like other provinces was further divided into a number of Sarkars or districts. Every Sarkar had a Faujdar, an Amalgazar, a Qazi, a Kotwal, a Bitikchi and a Khazandar. Their duties and powers are briefly described below.

Faujdar. He was the head of the Sarkar and was usually a Mansabdar of high rank; sometimes as high as four thousand horse. As such, he was appointed by the Emperor by a Royal Farman. He was the direct representative of the Emperor in the area under his command, working, however, under the supervision of the Bakhshi. He was to maintain peace and order, to keep the roads free from robbers and thieves and to enforce imperial regulations. He was in charge of a small force. It was his duty to keep the army fully equipped and in readiness for action. He was required to assist the collector in the work of revenue collection. He also worked as the Kotwal of the rural areas which had no Kotwals of their own.[46]

In the maintenance of peace and the discharge of executive functions in general, the Subadar's assistants were the Faujdars. These officers were placed at the head of suitable sub-divisions of the province. "In short, the Faujdar, as is evident from his designation, was only the commander of a military force stationed

in the Sarkar to put down smaller rebellions, disperse or arrest robber gangs, take cognizance of all violent crimes, and make demonstrations of force to overawe opposition to the revenue authorities or the criminal judge or the censor.[47]

Faujdars and Frontier Forts: The western and northern side of India comprised, from west to east, of the provinces of Multan, Kashmir and Lahore. A part of the north-western boundary of Multan and Lahore was exposed to aggression from beyond the passes, as well as from the North-West Frontier Province beyond the Indus and the Gakhar country between the Indus and the Chenab. Forts were established in the Shivalik hills and were put under the charge of the Faujdars to take full measures for the defence of the country. These forts were built in the year 1620, when almost all those parts of the Himalayan frontiers had come under the direct sway of the Great Mughals.[48]

JAMMU : This fort was in the north of the Rechna Doab situated between the Ravi and the Chenab, at the foot of the hills, protected at the summit.[49]

NAGARKOT : Situated north of the Bari Doab, between the Ravi and the Beas on the slopes of the Kangra hills, which was surmounted by a massive fort.[50] Shah Quli Khan was the Faujdar of Nagarkot, in 1622.

MAU : The capital of this fort was Nurpur, generally known as Dhamari, also in the Bari Doab.[51] Mau is situated half way between Pathankot and Nurpur on a ridge of low hills running to the east of the Chakki river.

JASWAN : This fort was situated in the Jaswan Dun of the outer hills, now in Hoshiarpur District. The state of Jaswan was annexed in 1572 and was thus established as a Mughal cantonement under a Faujdar.[52]

KAHLUR : Kot-Kahlur is situated on the Naina Devi Dhar, on the left bank of the Satlej, on the north-western end of the range of the Shivalik hills.[53] This place was the centre of the struggle between the Sikhs, the hill chiefs and the Mughals during the last years of Aurangzeb's reign.

GAWALIOR (GULER) : In addition to the Guler fort at the capital called Haripur fort, there were six more petty forts along the frontier of the state. These were Mastgarh, Kotla, Nehklanok, Gandharp, Ramgarh and Mangarh. Of these Kotla was the most important fort.[54]

DAHPAL : Details are not forthcoming.

SIBA : Situated in Kangra District, it was once part of the Guler State.[55]

MANKOT : This fort was of great importance and was one of the five frontier forts in the Shivalik hills built by Islam Shah, which were constructed of stone. All these five forts looked

like one fortification to the eye of the spectator.[56]

JASROTA : It was an extinct principality in Kashmir, lying to the north of Jammu. It was situated in the outer Shivaliks to the west of the Ravi and to the south of Karaidbar range.[57]

LAKANPUR : It was bounded on the North by the Karaidbar range separating it from Basholi, on the east by the Ravi. It was surrendered to the Mughals in 1594-1595.[58]

There were other frontier forts and the most important of these was on the Indus near Attock,[59] which was in the charge of Mirza Yusaf Khan in 1581 when Muhammad Hakim Mirza invaded the Panjāb from Kabul.[60] Mirza Rustam Khan succeeded to this post in 1591. Owing to the ever-fickle conduct of the hill chieftains, this post continued to be considered of great importance and was always entrusted to able men.[61] Apart from the frontier fort of Attock, the forts of Lahore, Sialkot and Rohtas were also of great importance and were under the full charge of the Faujdars.[62] The writer had consulted all the available contemporay and secondary sources to find out the names of the Faujdars who held these forts under their charge from time to time, but that data is not available anywhere.

Amalgazar. The Dewan was represented by the collector called Amal, popularly known as Karori in the district. He had a cosiderable staff to help him in the Sarkar, stationed at the important towns of the district discharging police and other miscellaneous duties.

The Amal was a revenue collector who was assisted by a large staff. He was also to punish robbers and other miscreants in order to protect the peasantry. He was authorised to advance Taqavi (loans) to the peasants and to recover the same gradually. He was to supervise the work of the treasurer of his district and to send monthly reports of receipts and expenditure to the court and to remit regularly the revenue of the district to the imperial treasury.[63]

Bitikchi. As far as revenue affairs were concerned, the office of Bitikchi[64] was next to that of the Amalgazar. He was required to be a conscientious worker, a good writer, and a clever accountant. Although officially he was styled as writer he was indispensable. His duty was to prepare necessary papers and records regarding the nature of the land and its produce; and it was on the basis of these records that the assessment was made by the Amalgazar. He was required to obtain from the Qanungos the statements of the average revenue of each village, which was calculated on the basis of the last ten years' produce. He was required to have a knowledge of the peculiar customs and land tenures obtaining in his district and was also to record the area of arable and waste lands of each village. He was to record the name of each husbandman who brought the rent and to issue

him a receipt signed by the treasurer. He was to receive from the Patwari, copies of the rolls of the Patwaris and Muqaddams by means of which they had made the collections together with the memorandum given to the husbandmen; and he was to inspect and carefully scrutinize the same and, in case any falsity appeared, he had to report it to the collector. Whenever any cultivator wanted any reference to his account, it was the foremost duty of the Bitikchi to settle that without delay and, at the close of each harvest, he was to record the collections and balances of each village and compare them with the Patwaris[65] rolls.

PARGANA

Each Sarkar or a district was divided into Parganas or Mahals. The Pargana was the lowest fiscal administrative unit. It had a Tehsildar in charge of the collection of revenue. It was here that the land revenue was actually paid to the state. The Muqaddams brought their collections to the Pargana treasury. Sometimes the peasants themselves paid revenue into the treasury. The Tehsildar was helped by a staff of clerks; one controlled the treasury, another kept the account of the money realized from various sources, and the third recorded all the arrears due. Several sets of surveyors worked in the Pargana at the time of harvest, recording the cropped area in various villages. There were four principal officers in every Pargana.[66]

Shiqdar. The Shiqdar[67] was the executive officer of the Pargana and was responsible for its general administration. Besides maintaining peace and order in the Pargana, he was to receive the money when the cultivators made payments in the Pargana treasury and to supervise and control the treasury. He was empowered, along with the Karkun,[68] to sanction expenditure from the treasury in case of emergency. It was his duty to forward such cases which did not fall within his jurisdiction to the Kotwal of the Sarkar.[69]

Amil. The Amil, Munsif or Amin had to discharge the same duties in the Pargana as the Amalgazar in the district. His main work was that of assessment and collection of land revenue with the help of an adequate staff. He was required to deal directly with the peasantry and not through the headman of the village. Besides, he assisted the Shiqdar in the maintenance of law and order and punishment of miscreants. The term Munsif, it seems, gradually fell into disuse and Amil remained in vogue; but it does not seem to have been altogether forgotten under Akbar or even much later.[70]

Fotdar. The Fotdar[71] was the treasurer of the Pargana and had to discharge the same duties in the Pargana as the Khazandar (treasurer) in the district.[72] He was not empowered to make any

disbursement without the sanction of the Dewan. In cases of emergency he could incur expenditure on the authority of the Shiqdar and the Karkun, provided he represented the case to the government without delay.[73]

Qanungo. The Qanungo was an old official and perhaps the one officer whose association with the Pargana has continued since very early times down to our own day. As at present, he was in a way the head of the Patwaris of his Pargana. He was to keep the same records for the Parganas as the Patwari had to keep for the village. Formerly the Qanungos were paid by means of a commission of one per cent, which was changed by Akbar and thenceforth they were paid cash salaries from the public treasury, besides an assignment for personal maintenance. There were three grades of Qanungos in Akbar's time; the first got rupees fifty per month, the second rupees thirty, and the third rupees twenty.[74]

The Qanungo was a repository of knowledge of various kinds relating to land tenures and other pecularities about the nature of the soil and the assessment and collection of revenue. He was an expounder of the laws that applied in India especially to village and district revenue officers, who, under former governments, recorded all circumstances within their sphere concerning landed property and the realisation of the revenue. They were keeping registers of the value, tenure, extent and transfer of the lands, and were assisting in the measurement and survey of lands, reporting deaths and successions of revenue payees, and explaining, when required, local practices and public regulations. This was the position till the eighteenth century just before the establishment of British administration.[75]

TOWN ADMINISTRATION

Kotwal. The Kotwal was appointed by the imperial government, on the recommendation and by a Sanad bearing the seal of the imperial commander of the artillery. Besides utilizing one hundred infantry attached to the provincial governor for that purpose, his personal contingent was fifty horsemen. He was in charge of the internal defence, health, sanitation and peace of the provincial capital. He had wide powers as he was the supreme administrator of all the police stations of the province.[76] Sri Saran says that the obligations and powers of the Kotwal can be stated under a few broad heads, viz. : (*i*) Watch and ward of the town; (*ii*) control of the markets; (*iii*) care and legitimate disposal of heirless property; (*iv*) care of the people's conduct and prevention of crime; (*v*) prevention of social abuses such as Sati; and (*vi*) regulation of the cemeteries, burials and slaughter houses.[77]

The Kotwal collected information about bad characters, recorded all movements of citizens into and from the city, suppressed crime by punishing all those who were arrested and found guilty. The Kotwal supervised the jail and put down minor disturbances in the city. He also inspected markets. All the Kotwals were under the Subadars,[78] says Sri Ram Sharma. In the reign of Aurangzeb the inspection of the markets was often entrusted to the Muhtasibs.

Under the Kotwal, there was the Mushrif who was appointed by the government, according to the regulations of the province, and the salary of the Mushrif was fixed at rupees forty per month. He was paid from the imperial treasury, the abstract of his salary being endorsed by the seals of the Kotwal and the Dewan-i-Suba. The Kotwal appointed the bearers in the city, alloting to each a certain part which he was to watch day and night.[79]

VILLAGE ADMINISTRATION

A village is as old as the hills.[80] This is more true of India than any other country in the world. There was a great variety in the principle as well as details of the composition of villages in ancient India. But as far as their administrative system is concerned, it was uniform in its main features and operation, which may be taken as fairly typical of all the various forms of rural communities. The Muslim rulers did not interfere with, alter or modify the local government of village communities in any manner. The contemporary historians say nothing of the government's attitude towards the village community, but their appreciation of it was written in their silent but unmistakable recognition of its value and advantages. They did not destroy it because they realised, as we are entitled to conclude, that they had no better alternative to substitute in its place and which would be calculated to serve the interest of the people so well. Hence, they gave it a sort of legal standing by their tacit recognition of it.[81] In the normal affairs of the village communities or their administration no interference was attempted by the Mughal governors. It is also beyond doubt that the representatives of the communities were invariably held answerable for crimes of a more serious nature, such as murder and treason. An appeal could be made, without any restriction, to an ascending heirarchy of the judicial officials of the government, in disputes of all kinds — civil, criminal, religious or social—in which the decision of the local body failed to give satisfaction to either party. The provincial government kept in touch with the villages by means of : (*i*) The Faujdars posted to the sub-divisions, who almost always lived in the district towns; (*ii*) the lower officials of the revenue department, who did the actual collection from the peasantry;

(*iii*) the visits of the Zamindars to the Subadar court; and (*iv*) the tours of the Subadar. The contact, however, was not very intimate and the villagers were left pretty much to their own devices. The government at the chief towns of the province was indifferent to their affairs, so long as they paid the land tax and did not disturb the peace.[82]

The following were the functionaries in the villages :

Muqadam. The Muqadam was probably the Sarpanch or headman, known by this name for his revenue functions. He distributed the demand slips and collected the land revenue from the cultivators. He was allowed two and half per cent of the revenue as his fee. He was responsible for the realization of the land revenue from the village and in the cases of any delay in payment he was called to account.[83]

Patwari. There was a chain of officials connecting the village with the Pargana (modern Tehsil). For the purpose of the maintenance of revenue records and agricultural statistics, there were groups or small circles to each of which a Patwari or village registrar was appointed. After the Kharif harvest inspection, it was the duty of the Patwari to give the Muqadam (headman) a list, known as the Fard Dhal Bachh, showing the demand due under different heads (land revenue, local rate, etc.) from the owner of each holding. That list was brought up-to-date and corrected, if necessary, after the instalments for the two harvests were found to be not equal or where the demand was a fluctuating one, assessed by the applications of acreage rates to the harvested area. The Patwari was bound to help the Muqadam by maintaining the accounts and by writing, if required, the receipts to be given to the share-holders. But he was forbidden to have anything to do with the actual collection or handling of the money. It was his duty to give to the Muqadam, for preservation at the Pargana, a memorandum[84] showing, under the proper heads of account, the amounts to be paid in. Abul Fazl says that the Patwari was a writer employed on the part of the cultivators. He probably, unlike the Qanungo, continued to be paid by one per cent commission which was taken from the other sources.

"He was the accountant, maintained by the villagers at their own cost, to keep account of the cropped area, the crops sown and the revenue due, demanded from and paid by every cultivator. He seems to have been keeping a weather journal on which were based any claims for remission the cultivators might demand."[85]

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

During the Mughal period the revenue system was, for the first time, reorganized by Akbar. He effected many changes

which can be studied under three main heads, viz. : (*i*) Method of assessment; (*ii*) state demand; and (*iii*) method of payment. It was in the twenty-fourth year of his reign that Akbar introduced the 'Ten-year settlement', under the supervision of Raja Todar Mal. The salient features of Akbar's revenue system were the measurement of land, its survey and classification. The annual settlement was given up. The revenue was collected in kind but in certain cases cash payments were preferred.

According to the Ain-i-Akbari, each province of India was divided into a number of Sarkars and each Sarkar into Parganas. The Pargana was the unit of general administration under Sher Shah and his successors, and the Sarkar, which was a group of Parganas, represented more or less something like the present-day commissioners' divisions, serving as a medium of communication between the provincial government and the district and as an agency of general supervision over the Pargana administration.[86] For the first time Akbar had divided the Panjāb into five territorial divisions. He gave the name Bet Jallandhar[87] to the valley between the Beas and the Satlej; Bari[88] to that between the Beas and the Ravi; Rechna[89] to the one between the Ravi and the Chenab; Jenhat[90] to the valley of the Chenab and the Jhelum; and Sind Sagar[91] to that of the Jhelum and Sind.[92] For details please see Appendix B.

It is difficult to assess the boundary between the provinces of Lahore and Multan exactly. The limits of the territory covered by the Lahore province and the Sarkars of Multan and Dipalpur of the Multan province can be laid down with tolerable certainty. The measured area of the province of Lahore does not show any noticeable alternations between the statistics given in the Ain-i Akbari and those of Aurangzeb's reign, when nine-tenths of the villages are shown to have been measured. In the Multan province, the practice of measurement was apparently abandoned in the Sarkar of Multan, but almost all the villages of Dipalpur Sarkar had come under measurement by the later years of the Great Mughals.[93] The Parganas which had not been measured might, therefore, have been assessed according to some other system, that is, either by sharing of crops or Nasaq. No figures for the area of the Parganas beyond the five rivers are recorded. One of these, Kahlur,[94] was a state under its own Raja and must have had its own system of land revenue assessment, probably sharing of the crops. The Akbarnama also mentions some states under their own chiefs in the Panjāb, including Kangra and other Himachal Rajas.[95] There was a Zabti system in the Suba of Multan also. In the province of Thatta, sharing of crops was common, one-third being claimed as the state's share. The cultivators had the option to pay in kind or in cash, but they were encouraged to pay in cash. Here again a very large part

of the country was under the chiefs who collected the land revenue from the cultivators and paid tribute to the Mughal Emperors.[96]

CLASSIFICATION OF LAND

The land was classified into four divisions during Akbar's regime for the purpose of cultivation and for the assessment of the proportionate dues to be collected from the peasants. The land was thus measured by the Gaz, the Tanab, and the Bigha, and a different scale of revenue was fixed to be paid by the cultivators, which remained in vogue throughout the Mughal period. The first class of the land was Polaj, which was annually cultivated for each crop and was never allowed to be fallowed. The second class was Parauti, which was left out of cultivation for sometime so that it might recover its strength. The third was Chachar, which was the land that had lain fallow for three or four years. The fourth was named as Banjar land, which remained uncultivated for more than three or four years. The first two kinds of land were further classified into three groups viz., good, middling and bad. They added together the produce of each sort, and a third of that represented the medium produce, of which one-third was exacted as the royal dues. The revenue levied by Sher Shah, which was at that time in vogue in the Panjāb and which was the lowest rate of assessment, generally remained, and, for the convenience of the cultivators and the soldiery, the value was taken in ready money.[97] When either from excessive rain or through inundation, the Chachar land fell out of cultivation, the husbandmen being in considerable distress, in the first year two-fifths of the assessment was taken and in the second year three-fifths, in the third year four-fifths and in the fifth year the ordinary revenue was charged.[98] According to difference in the situation, the revenue was paid either in cash or in kind. In the case of Banjar land it was left to the option of the cultivator to pay in ready money or by Kankut or Bhaoli.[99]

In the Bari Doab of this province, including the whole of the province of Multan, the Zabti system of assessment was in vogue. The exact area of a number of Mahals which were under the Zabti is not known. But a careful examination of the revenue figures for each Mahal shows that at least fourteen Mahals out of fifty-two were Naqdi and thirty-eight Mahals were under the Zabti system.[100]

The cultivators were the direct masters of the land in the Mughal Panjāb. They could sell, mortgage, or give away their lands in gift. Land passed from father to son like all other property. The state had an interest in the landed estates of a cultivator who ran away after defaulting in the payment of the revenue.

The collections were made at Holi in spring and at Dassera in autumn;[101] reports of collection were sent daily by the recorder to the collector. Every month, receipts were sent to the ministry of revenue. Any damage to the crops by unforeseen factors was to be reported to the Emperor, who would then order the necessary remission of land revenue.[102]

No revenue was charged from Sarais, cemeteries and cremation grounds. If trees were planted for shade or fuel, the usual revenue was charged, but fruit-bearing gardens paid one-fifth when owned by the Hindus and one-sixth when owned by the Muslims. Later on, a flat rate of Rs. 2¼ per Bigha was levied on the gardens if the trees were so planted as to leave no land under cultivation. Every revenue official was told that to increase the cultivated area was one of his most important duties. Where necessary, advances were made to the agriculturists for breaking new lands; this made it possible for the cultivators to set off a part of the cost of breaking new land against concessions in land revenue which they received. Those who brought new land under cultivation were recognized as the owners thereof.

There is no record that in any period of their reign the whole of land was claimed as private property by the Mughal Emperors. However, when land changed hands, elaborate rules safeguarded the claim of the state to the revenue. If an heir or buyer had time enough for cultivating it after acquiring his title, he paid the land revenue. If the heir or the buyer did not get enough time to cultivate the land, the revenue was remitted. The leased and mortgaged lands also paid land revenue under similar conditions.

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

The army of the Great Mughals was based on the Mansabdari system which was introduced by Akbar. It was managed by a department totally separate from the civil government of the provinces as now. On the other hand, the recruitment of the greater bulk of the army, its training and discipline, its maintenance and equipment, and the arranging of campaigns and camps were all done through officials who were also responsible for the Civil Administration of the province. There were no military divisions of the empire, apart from the provinces, like the present commands into which the country is divided. Single troopers got enlisted under the banner of some chiefs little richer or better known than themselves. These inferior leaders again joined greater commanders, and thus, by successive aggregation of groups, a great noble's divisions were gathered together. Hence, the military organisation was an important subject of the provincial government, as it was of the central.[103]

The Bakhshi, who was the second in rank to the governor, as stated earlier, was usually the head of the provincial army. He was in charge of the military establishment stationed in the province. His assistants held yearly inspections of horses and reviews of soldiers according to the instructions received from the Mir Bakhshi. He issued warrants for payment to the Mansabdars serving the province when an expedition was ordered. The Bakhshi saw to it that the various officers called upon to take part in it had the requisite number of men and horses under them. In consultation with the leader of the expedition, the Bakhshi looked after the needs of the army and was represented by his Naib in the expedition as well.

There were three different groups of forces in the provinces. Firstly, the contingents which every high official from the governor downwards had to maintain in accordance with his Mansab. This was, of course, a part of the regular standing army of the Mughal empire. It was maintained more for the general service of the empire than for that of the province. At first it was paid usually by assignments made to the Mansabdar carrying an income equal to his salary. Later on, the system of assignments was discouraged by Akbar and disbursement of salaries was made directly from the imperial treasuries.[104] Secondly, the provincial army consisted of the contingents of certain minor Zamindars who were called upon to render service at the time of war. The third group of local or provincial forces consisted of cavalry, infantry and other arms mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari, as the quotas allotted to Sarkars and Mahals,[105] stationed under the Faujdars and petty Faujdars, details of which are given in Appendix C.

So far as supply and transport were concerned, there was no separate department for them. Other arrangements were also not adequate. For their baggage and camp equipment, the Mansabdars, helped by the local authorities, made their own transport arrangements as best as they could. The provisions for the Mansabdars and their men were provided by the Banjaras who followed the army.

Thus regular army was primarily a standing army. The pay of mounted men included the cost of maintaining their equipment and horses. In the artillery, which was entirely imperial and administered as a department of the house-hold and not of the army, the pay ranged between about rupees three and rupees seven.

The infantry formed a miscellaneous crowd. It included musketeers and swordsmen among the combatant services, and spy guards, wrestlers, porters, sappers and miners, carpenters, water carriers and camp followers of various kinds. The remuneration of the first four categories ranged between three and

six rupees monthly; that of porters between two half and three rupees; of wrestlers between two and fifteen rupees; and of the rest from a Dam to a rupee. As to the significance of these rates, it would be sufficient to note that the higher pay sanctioned for the cavalry was, in part at least, an index to a difference in social position. Service in the cavalry was respectable, and a gentleman could enter it. But the other branches of the army comprised almost all classes, even the menials, though a partial exception could be made in the case of artillery, in which foreign experts were employed in increasing numbers as time went on.

The so-called army indicated under the Subas was in the nature of a militia and not a reulgar army. The figures in question represented, in reality, general estimates relating to a sort of militia or the fighting manpower, which each province, Sarkar or Mahal was expected to be able to raise and supply to the government in time of need or whenever demanded to do so. The proportion of the contribution of cavalry of each locality was determined more by the material qualities than by mere numerical strength of its population, and of infantry more by the numerical strength than by the material qualities.[106]

The position of the local cavalry was probably more regular; their distribution over the provinces corresponded roughly to the importance of the Zamindar and it may be inferred that the forces enumerated under this head were of substantial military value, consisting of troops maintained by Zamindars at their own cost, but liable to be called in by the Emperor in case of need.

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

The redress of individual grievances was the duty of the Mughal Emperors.[107] For this purpose the Mughal Emperors held their courts personally and also maintained some judicial officers. Akbar's judicial officers were known as the Qazi and the Mir Adil, but the extent of their jurisdiction was not clearly defined.[108] At any rate, the litigation, both civil and criminal, was, as described by visitors, usually conducted before executive officers and very commonly before the Kotwal or the city governor.

Judicial organisation does not seem to have made much progress. No records of proceedings, civil or criminal, were kept, everything being done verbally; and no sort of code existed, except in so far as the persons acting as judges thought fit to follow Quranic rules. The governor of a province was instructed by Akbar to maintain a brief account of witnesses and oaths.[109]

Certain aspects of the Mughal code deserve notice. It made distinction between first offenders and habituals. It sometimes gave the accused an opportunity for confessing his crime and expressing repentance for it, so that he was then treated leniently.

The sentences on convicts were of a more appalling nature than was customary in India. Capital punishment after torture was prevalent. The mode of execution included impalement, trampling by elephants, crucification, beheading and other forms. As minor penalities, mutilation and whipping of great severity were commonly ordered. The death punishment had usually to be confirmed by the Emperor. Akbar drew the line at the old Mughal practice of flaying alive and was disgusted when that horrible punishment was inflicted. Babar had ordered it without scruple. In actual practice even in the reign of Jahangir, when that order was stated to have abrogated, one found provincial governors carrying it out on their own.[110]

In the rural areas the maintenance of law and order was entrusted to the revenue staff. In important towns, however, a special executive officer was appointed, who suppressed crime by severe punishments.[111] And this rendered life and property generally secure, though wealthy criminals could escape on payment of heavy fines, and the line between fines and bribes was not distinct. With the decay of authority, armed gangs of robbers began to infest the neighbourhood of some of the principal cities, often with the connivance of the local governors who were benefited both by the bribes they received from the robbers and by the savings in police expenditure. Litigation, both civil and criminal, was conducted before these very officers. Civil litigation was thus cheaper and speedier than it is now. Officers wisely paid little heed to witnesses or oaths and relied on their own discernment and knowledge of human nature.

NOTES

1. *India at the Death of Akbar* — Moreland, p. 33.
2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarrett, p. 315.
3. *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire* — Ibn Hasan, p. 204.
4. The Viceroy.
5. 'Nazim' means the Regulator of the Province.
6. *Mughal Administration* — Jadunath Sarkar, p. 61.
7. *Ma'asir-ul-Umera*, Vol. II — Shah Nawaz Khan, p. 798.
8. *Badshahnama*, Vol. II — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, pp. 125, 126.
9. *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire* — Ibn Hasan, p. 330.
10. *Memoirs of Babar*, Vol. II — King, pp. 365, 366.
11. *History of India*, Vol. I — Erskine, p. 100.
    Humayun Badshah — Banerjee, pp. 53-58.
12. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, pp. 410-12.
    Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 519-25.
13. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 544.
    Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., p. 322.
14. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. II — R&B, pp. 197-99.
    Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. II — Lowe, p. 360.
15. *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani-Makhzani-i-Afghani* — Harvi, Text, p. 195.
    Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. II — Lowe, p. 11.
16. *Akbar the Great Mughal* — Smith, pp. 231-50.
    Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., pp. 620-50.

17. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III — Beveridge, p. 247.
18. *Badshahnama* — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, p. 158.
19. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* — Ali Muhammad Khan, p. 173.
20. "In the year 1596, Akbar issued an order that all provincial Dewans should report their proceedings to His Majesty in accordance with the suggestions of the Chief Dewan, Khwaja Shams-ud-din." (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarrett, p. 670.)
21. A daily account book.
22. A cash book, a book of receipts.
23. The Court.
24. The clerk dealing with the correspondence with the central government.
25. The clerk dealing with the correspondence with the governor's office.
26. The clerk of the lands under the government management.
27. The salary disbursement clerk.
28. The office clerk.
29. "In the empire of the Great Mughals, the Bakhshi was an official of a high rank who had charge of the registration of body of troop and had to pay them." (*Encyclopeadia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 600.)
30. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarrett, pp. 41, 42.
    The Provincial Administration of the Mughals — P. Saran, p. 66.
31. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Printed), pp. 173-76.
32. Sometimes written as Waqai Nigar.
33. A writer or surveyor of occurrences.
34. Writer of the secret reports, the most confidential agents.
35. A spy, who generally brought oral news and at times also sent news letters
36. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Text, p. 175.
37. *Storia-do-Mogar*, Vol. II — Manucci, pp. 331, 332.
38. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. I — Lowe, p. 254.
39. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R&B, p. 247.
40. The Kotwal's Chabutra (court).
41. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* — Ali Muhammad Khan, pp. 174, 175.
42. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarrett, pp. 42, 43.
43. *The Mughal Administration* — Jadunath Sarkar, p. 107.
44. Plural of Bayut (House). An office for registering the effects of deceased persons.
45. *The Central Structure of Mughal Empire* — Ibn Hasan, p. 96.
46. *The Central Structure of Mughal Empire* — Ibn Hasan, pp. 76, 96, 137, 206.
    Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II — Jarrett, pp. 43, 44.
47. *The Mughal Administration* — Jadunath Sarkar, p. 66.
    Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II — Jarrett, pp. 41, 42.
48. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III — Beveridge, p. 884.
49. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarett, p. 320.
50. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarrett, p. 319.
51. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarrett, p. 319.
    Badshahnama — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, p. 264.
52. *History of the Panjab Hill States*, Vol. I — H. & Vogel, pp. 207-9.
53. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarrett, p. 319.
    History of the Panjab Hill States, Vol. II — H. & Vogel, pp. 494, 495.
54. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarrett, p. 319.
    History of the Panjab Hill States, Vol. I — H. & Vogel, pp. 199-206.
    History of India, Vol. V — Elliot and Dowson, p. 357.
55. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarrett, p. 319.
    History of the Panjab Hill States, Vol. I — H. & Vogel, pp. 210, 211.
56. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. I — Lowe, pp. 386, 387.
57. *History of the Panjab Hill States*, Vol. I — H. & Vogel, pp. 566, 567.
58. *Ibid.* pp. 573-75.
    History of India, Vol. VI — Elliot and Dowson, p. 128.

59. This fort was built in 1581 by Akbar when he undertook a journey to North-West Frontier to supress the rebellion of Mirza Muhammad Hakim. It is a massive structure, built mostly for the purpose of defence of the frontier.
60. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III — Beveridge, pp. 336, 337, 394, 493.
61. *Akbarnama*, Vol. III — Beveridge, pp. 336, 337, 493, 494.
The Central Structure of Mughal Empire — Ibn Hasan, pp. 76, 96, 137, 206, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals* — P. Saran, pp. 98, 100, 209. 227, 228.
62. *India of Aurangzeb* (Chahar Gulshan) — Jadunath Sarkar, p. 128.
63. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarrett, pp. 45-48.
The Provincial Administration of the Mughals — P. Saran, pp. 284, 386.
64. Bitikchi is a word of Turkish origin; meaning a writer or a recorder.
65. *The Central Structure of Mughal Empire* — Ibn Hasan, p. 186.
The Provincial Government of the Mughals — P. Saran, pp. 287, 288.
66. *The Provincial Government of the Mughals* — P. Saran, pp. 207-14
67. The Shiqdar (arabic), — a governor; an officer appointed to collect the revenue from certain division of land.
68. "He was a sort of camp clerk and accountant in one, both to the chief Amil and the Pargana Amil and going round with them on their tours of assessment." (*The Provincial Government of the Mughals* — P. Saran, p. 290.)
69. *Ibid.*, p. 284.
70. *The Central Structure of Mughal Empire* — Ibn Hasan, p. 207.
The Provincial Government of the Mughals — P. Saran, p. 292.
71. Treasurer.
72. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarrett, p. 52.
73. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarrett, p. 52.
The Provincial Government of the Mughals — P. Saran, p. 289.
74. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, p. 300; Vol. II, pp. 23-25.
75. *The Provincial Government of the Mughals* — P. Saran, p. 295.
76. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Vol. I — Ali Ahmed Khan, ff. 168-70.
77. *The Provincial Government of the Mughals* — P. Saran, p. 233.
78. *Ibid.*, pp. 352, 356.
79. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* — Ali Ahmed Khan, f. 724b.
80. *The Village Government in British India*, Preface, XIV.
81. *The Indian Village Community* — Baden Powell (1896), pp. 72, 217, 246.
India at the Death of Akbar — Moreland, pp. 136, 137.
82. *The Mughal Government and Administration* — S. R. Sharma, p. 245.
The Provincial Government of the Mughals—P. Saran, pp. 166, 167, 236, 241.
83. *The Provincial Government of the Mughals* — P. Saran, p. 243.
84. Erz Irsal.
85. *Mughal Government and Administration* — S. R. Sharma, p. 245.
Mughal Administration — Jadunath Sarkar, pp. 55, 56.
86. The Pargana and Sarkar of Sher Shah were merely revenue divisions, but Sher Shah enjoined upon his officers the duty of protecting the people from robbery and theft and punishing the evil-doors. (*Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* — Abas Khan, Bankipur Lib. MS, ff. 228.)
87. Doab Bist Jallandhar.
88. Doab Bari.
89. Doab Rechna.
90. Doab Chaj.
91. Doab Sind Sagar.
92. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarrett, p. 315.
93. *India of Aurangzeb* — Sarkar, p. 130.
94. Bilaspur State.
95. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Jarrett, p. 583.
Tuzak-i-Jahangir, Vol. II — R&B, p. 346.
96. *The Provincial Government of Mughals* — P. Saran, pp. 277, 297, 319.
The Mughal Government and Administration — S. R. Sharma, pp. 69-76.

97. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarrett, p. 68.
98. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Jarrett, p. 73.
99. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Jarrett, pp. 74, 75.
100. *Provincial Government of the Mughals* — P. Saran, p. 311.
101. *Court Bulletin*, 30-1-1703.
102. *Court Bulletin*, 18-1-1704.
103. *The Army of Indian Mughals* — W. Irvine, pp. 57, 58.
The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire — Ibn Hasan, pp. 124-26.
104. Khazana Amarah.
105. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarrett, pp. 315-28.
106. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarrett, pp. 41, 42.
107. In the practice of the executive.
108. "I suspect that they deal mainly with questions arising out of Muslim Law." (*Moreland*, p. 34.)
109. In judicial investigations he should not be satisfied with witnesses and oaths, but pursue them by manifold enquiries by the study of physiognomy and the exercise of foresight nor laying burden of it on others, live absolved from solicitude. (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Jarrett, p. 37.)
110. *Mughal Government and Administration* — S. R. Sharma, p. 222.
111. The severity of the punishments inflicted by the Mughal Emperors on convicted bribe-takers acted as powerful deterrent to corruption. A basketfull of poisonous snakes was kept by Shah Jahan ready to bite such delinquents and even the easy going Jahangir was no respecter of persons when it came to administering justice. (*India at the Death of Akbar* — Moreland, pp. 34-37, 40, 41.)

CHAPTER X

RELIGIOUS POLICY

The Great Mughals founded their empire with the sword. At each important victory, Babar raised towers of human skulls to become a Ghazi, as well as to strike terror in the minds of the conquered people. Fanaticism was the dominant characteristic of the age in which Babar lived. Babar was the child of his age and religious toleration could not be expected from him. He had inherited his religious policy from the Lodis. "In order to conform strictly to the Muslim law, he excluded Muslims from paying stamp duties, thus confining the tax to Hindus alone."[1] He thus not only continued but increased the distinction between his Hindu and Muslim subjects in the matter of their financial burdens. It was difficult for Baber and his son Humayun to rise above the circumstances of the age. They did not follow an enlightened and liberal religious policy towards the Hindus.

We do not get any reference in the contemporary Muslim or indigenous historical works which throw some light on the religious policy of Babar, Humayun and the Surs, with particular reference to the Panjāb. From Babar's occupation of the Panjāb till the reconquest of India by Humayun in 1556, the Panjāb had been the cockpit of various upheavals, and during this period the government was unstable and, hence, no attention could be paid by the rulers towards religion.

Akbar's reign forms the dividing line between the old and new methods of the government which he was to make so successful. It was only from 1562 that Akbar was his own master consulting whom-so-ever he liked, but shaping his religious policy mostly according to his own will. When his reign began, it gave no sign of the opening of a new era in the religious policy of the Great Mughals. Almost his first act of state was to earn religious merit and the title of Ghazi by striking at the disarmed and captive Hemu,[2] his adversary at the Second Battle of Panipat. Akbar was not asked to whet his sword on Hemu because he was a rebel but because he was a Hindu. Akbar was a victorious soldier of Islam. Abul Fazl asserts that the boy Akbar was wiser than his years and refused to strike a defenceless enemy.[3] But most other writers agree on the fact that he struck Hemu and earned the title of the Ghazi.[4]

The popular attitude towards heretics and non-Muslims can be clearly understood from several incidents of Akbar's reign. In 1569-70, Mirza Muqim,[5] son of Mirza Zu-ul-Num, and Mir Yaqoob were executed at Lahore for their religious opinions. Feelings towards the Hindus could not be bridled. Abdul Nabi[6]

executed a Brahman for blasphemy on the complaint of a Qaz.[7] Hussain Khan, the governor of the Panjāb, who died in 1575-76, made his tenure famous by ordering that the Hindus should stick patches of different colours on their shoulders, or on the bottom of their sleeves so that no Muslim might be put to the indignity of showing them honour by mistake. Nor did he allow Hindus to saddle their horses, but insisted that they should use patch saddles when riding.[8] Prior to 1593 some Hindus had been converted to Islam forcibly.[9]

When Kangra was invaded in 1572-73, even though Birbal[10] accompanied the expedition as a joint commander, the umbrella of the goddess was riddled with arrows, two hundred cows were killed and Muslim soldiers threw their shoes full of blood at the walls and the doors of the temple.[11]

Akbar had to defend the appointment of his finance minister Todar Mal, a Hindu, by reminding his Muslim critics that they were all utilizing the services of Hindu accountants in their own households.[12] The later sublimity of Akbar's conception and the catholicity of his temperament and ideals, were moulded by various influences. In his anxiety to do away with religious discord in the empire, he made an attempt to bring about a synthesis of all the various religions known to him and style it Tawhid-i-Illahi.[13] He thought it undesirable, therefore, that a comparatively young religion like Islam should be considered to possess the monopoly of truth and continue as the religion of the state. He established, in its place, a religion of his own choice known as the Din-i-Illahi.

Even in the case of the Din-i-Illahi, it was Akbar's policy not to impose his religion by force upon his subjects. Hence, it was confined to the court circle, and had just a few thousand followers in its fold. After the establishment of the Din-i-Illahi, and on account of his spiritual awakening, Akbar followed the policy of religious toleration towards his non-Muslim subjects. He removed all restrictions from the public religious worship of non-Muslims. A Christian church was allowed to be built each at Lahore and Thatta.[14] Akbar presented a golden umbrella to the shrine of the fire goddess of Jwala Mukhi. It was but natural for a monarch who believed that there was truth in every religion and that the same God was everywhere, whether He be worshipped in a church, a mosque, a temple, or a snynagogue, to treat all religions alike and to give the followers of every faith complete freedom of conscience and worship. Contrary to the practice which had existed since the advent of Islam in the country, Hindus were permitted to perform public worship and to preach their religion. Those Hindus — men, women and children — who were forcibly converted to Islam were allowed to revert to their ancestral religion, if they liked. "Being at this time seized

with suspicions against some of the Mullahs of Lahore, His Majesty ordered Qazi Sadr-ud-din Lahori, a free thinker, and other Mullahs, such as Abdul Shakur Guldar, Mullah Muhammad Massum, to be banished from the city."[15] Christians were further allowed to build churches and convert Hindus and Muslims to Christianity.

Jahangir's accession had raised the hopes of orthodox Muslim theologians for the restoration of Islam to the position which it had occupied before Akbar, who had dis-established it as the state religion. They tried to convert the new Emperor to their views, so as to persuade him to reverse the work of secularising the state that his great father had almost completed.[16] The orthodox Muslims seemed to have greater faith in Jahangir than in Akbar. Jahangir maintained Christian service in Lahore, at the expense of the court, and paid allowance to Christian Fathers. He imposed no restriction on the public celebration of religious festivals by Hindus and himself participated in some of these, such as Basant, Raksha Bandhan and Dassera. This was in vogue, of course, when he was at peace. But when he made wars on Hindus and Christians, these considerations were sometimes withdrawn as when Jahangir visited Kangra, he decided to celebrate the first Muslim occupation of this famous fort by desecrating the Hindu temple and glorifying in this act of vandalism.[17] However, the relations between the Hindus and Muslims during the time of Jahangir were, on the whole, cordial. This is evidenced from the fact that some of the Hindu shrines of Kangra and Mathura continued to attract a large number of Muslim pilgrims, besides their Hindu votaries.[18]

Jahangir, though usually liberal and tolerant towards all religions, at times sanctioned repressive measures against the Shias. Soon after Jahangir's accession, it was reported to him that Shaikh Ibrahim[19] had been declared as a religious leader in the Pargana of Lahore. He had gathered together a large number of Afghans as his followers. Jahangir ordered him to be brought before him. As the Emperor was not satisfied with the Shaikh's explanation, he was summarily entrusted to Prince Parvez to be imprisoned in the fortress of Chunar.[20] Qazi Nurulla[21] was put to death on account of his being a notable Shia writer. Some of the Mulsim theologians complained to Jahangir against Shaikh Ahmed Sirhindi, who had deputies and followers in every part of India, that some of his writings claimed to have risen to a status higher than those of the Caliphs. The Emperor thereupon called him from Sirhind and asked him to explain his position. The Shaikh had to undergo imprisonment in the fortress of Gawalior, but was released sometime later and sent back to Sirhind with gifts.

A Christian Church was built at Lahore,[22] as already

mentioned, during Akbar's reign. "Brahman and a Moor were converted at Lahore but in secret."[23] Jahangir not only tolerated Christianity, but he also patronised it well. The Christian Fathers were paid between rupees three and seven daily; occasionally he would give them money for their services, and once at least to mitigate the distress of the poor Christians by a monthly grant of Rs. 50.[24]

Shah Jahan gave the real start to the trend that came to its full growth with his son Aurangzeb. He was an orthodox Muslim. He endeavoured to give his court an Islamic atmosphere. He abolished Sijada (adoration), discontinued the Hindu practice of Tuldan, the celebration of Hindu festivals at Lahore and other important towns of the Panjāb. Hijri era was restored to the state calendar. He began to celebrate at his court, in the orthodox Islamic fashion, the Muslim festivals of the Id, Shab-i-Barat, Milad and Bara-Wafat. While his predecessors used to have the Tika sign on the forehead from the Hindu Rajas at the time of their succession, Shah Jahan delegated this duty to his Prime Minister. He reimposed the Pilgrim Tax on Hindus.

It was decided that only Muslims were to be recruited to the public offices, but this order does not seem to have come into force. During this whole reign lasting thirty-five years, out of a total of one hundred and forty-one Mansabdars of about one thousand to seven thousand, as many as fifty-two were Hindus, Raja Rajrup[25] of Nurpur being one of them.[26] In the revenue department, besides the four provincial Dewans ranking as commanders of one thousand or more, there were other Hindus occupying less exalted positions yet discharging equally responsible duties. Rai Sabha Chand was the Dewan of Lahore.[27] In the 12th year, Rai Makand Dass was Dewan-i-Tan and Dewan-i-Bayutat. He served for sometime as the officiating revenue minister in the same year.[28] Rai Chander Bhan was officer-in-charge of Dar-ul-Insha, the secretariat.

In spite of this, the Emperor spared no effort to propagate and to establish Islam in the Land of the Five Rivers. He ordered that the converted Muslim girls should be restored to their fathers and the Hindus who had married them must either pay heavy fines or become Muslims themselves.[29] But it was discovered that his order had not completely stopped this system of conversion to Hinduism. Dalpat, a Hindu of Sirhind,[30] had converted a Muslim girl, Zinab, given her the Hindu name Ganga, and brought up their children as Hindus. He had also converted one Muslim boy and six Muslim girls to Hinduism. Shah Jahan got exasperated at this persistence and defiance of his orders. To put a stop to this practice and warn all future transgressors against the law, Dalpat's wife and children were taken away from him. He was sentenced to death by mutilation with the option that he

could save himself by becoming a Muslim. Dalpat did not submit and was cruelly put to death.[31]

When the Sikh Guru Hargobind took up his residence at Kiratpur, in the Hoshiarpur District, he succeeded in converting a large number of Muslims. Sometime before 1645 "not a Muslim was left between the hills near Kiratpur and the frontiers of Tibet and Khotan. The Mughals conquered Kiratpur in 1645 and it is possible they might have made some efforts in reconverting the people."[32]

During the days of famine in the Panjāb in 1645-46, when people began to sell their children, Shah Jahan ordered that the sale price be paid by the state and the Muslim children be restored to their parents and Hindu children brought up as Muslims."[33] "Towards the end of his reign, we actually find him restraining the religious zeal of Aurangzeb and over-riding him in many important matters. It must, however, be admitted that Akbar's ideal of a comprehensive state, although only partially, was gradually being lost sight of."[34]

With Aurangzeb's accession the liberal trend of Akbar's times was totally reversed, as he zealously completed the process of reaction. He was not satisfied with the doings of his father and restored Islam to its original position as the religion of the state and made a sustained and thoroughly bigoted effort to convert India into a Muslim country. First of all he discontinued all the Hindu festivals.

On April 9, 1669, it was reported to Aurangzeb that the Brahmans of Sind, Multan and Banaras were using their temples as schools, which attracted students, Hindus and Muslims alike, from great distances. "Orders in accordance with the organisation of Islam were sent to the governors of all the provinces that they should destroy the schools and temples of the infidels and put an end to their educational activities as well as the practices of the religion of the Kafirs."[35]

In a small village in the Sarkar of Sirhind, a Sikh temple was demolished and converted into a mosque; an Imam was appointed there, who was subsequently killed by the Sikhs.[36] Aurangzeb's relations with the Sikhs have already been dealt with under a separate chapter entitled "The Sikhs and the Great Mughals".

Conversion to Islam was encouraged in diverse ways under Aurangzeb. The criminals who embraced Islam were acquitted and high government posts were conferred upon the converts who were, besides, rewarded in many other ways. All kinds of pressure was exerted on the Hindu population in order to compel it to embrace Islam. The Islamic law of justice was tightened with a view to compel the non-Muslims to abandon their ancestral religion and embrace Islam. Thus, under Aurangzeb the state became a vigorous missionary institution and utilized its power

and resources for the propagation of Islam. The policy or religious toleration introduced by Akbar in the sixteenth century was completely given up during the later half of the seventeenth century. A countrywide conversion drive was let loose with concentrated fury at selected points, with the result that the Mughal Empire was socially disrupted with a universal loss of sympathy on the part of the Hindus. Disintegartion and dismemberment had set in due to the relentless proselytizing zeal that Aurangzeb never ceased to evince till his death.

NOTES

1. *Memoirs of Babar*, Vol. II — King, p. 281.
2. *Akbar the Great* — Smith, pp. 34-40.
   Akbarnama, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 42.
   Tarikh-i-Sher-Shahi — A. Yadgar, Text, pp. 363, 364.
3. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 42.
   Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. II — W. H. Lowe, p. 17.
4. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II — W. H. Lowe, pp. 124, 125.
5. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, p. 463.
   Tawarikh-i-Daudi, MS, f. 318.
6. *The Oriental Biographical Dictionary* — Beale, p. 708.
7. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Blochman, pp. 384-403.
8. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman (1939), pp. 4024-.
   Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. II — Lowe, p. 223.
   Tabqat-i-Akbari, Vol. II — B. De., pp. 386, 407.
9. Abul Fazl in *Ain-i-Akbari* and Abdul Qadar Badauni in *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II, p. 391, both agree on this point.
10. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 218, 219, 442-46.
11. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. II — Lowe, p. 162.
12. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, p. 384.
13. *Akbar the Great Mughal* — Smith, pp. 211, 212.
14. *Annual Report of the Jesuit Mission for 1597 in Maclagan*, p. 77.
15. *Lahore* — Muhammad Latif, p. 33.
16. *Muktubat-i-Mula* — Ahmad Sirhindi, pp. 1, 2, 46.
17. *Tuzak-i-Jahangiri*, Text, pp. 346-49.
    Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri, Text, p. 161.
18. *Tuzak-i-Jahangiri*, Text, p. 347.
    Early European Travellers in India — Finch, p. 180.
19. Son of Shaikh Musa, the brother of Shaikh Salim Chisti.
    The Oriental Biographical Dictionary — T. W. Beale, pp. 116, 117.
20. *Tuzak-i-Jahangiri*, Text, p. 218.
21. He was introduced to Akbar by Hakim Abul Fateh, and had a great reputation for learning. When Shaikh Munin Qazi of Lahore retired, he was appointed his successor. (*Lahore* — Muhammad Latif, p. 42.)
22. *Annual Report of the Jesuit Mission for 1597 in Maclagen*, p. 77.
23. *Early European Travellers to India* — Hawkins, pp. 86-116.
24. *Jahangir and the Jesuits* — Translated by Payne, p. 34.
25. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* — Saqi Mustad Khan, p. 175.
26. Son of Raja Jagat Singh of Nurpur. (*History of Shah Jahan* — Saxena, pp. 9, 94.)
27. *Badshahnama*, Vol. II — Abdul Hamid Lahori — Text, pp. 258-328.
28. *Amal-i-Salhi*, Vol. II — Muhammad Salhi Kambu, Text, p. 304.
    Badshahnama, Vol. II — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, p. 279.
29. *Badshahnama* — Mirza Aminai Qazyni, Text, pp. 405, 444, 445.
    Badshahnama, Vol. II — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, p. 58.

Muntakhab-ul-Lubab, Vol. I — Khafi Khan, Text, p. 510.
Amal-i-Salhi, Vol. II — Muhammad Salhi Kambu, Text, p. 64.
30. *History of Shah Jahan* — Saxena, pp. 142, 294.
31. *Amal-i-Salhi*, Vol. II — Muhammad Salhi Kambu, Text, pp. 246-57.
Badshahnama, Vol. II — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, p. 57.
32. *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, Vol. II — David Shea, pp. 227-32.
"The Muslim chroniclers are silent about the fate of any such attempt."
33. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. I — Khafi Khan, Text, p. 626.
34. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Vol. II — Khafi Khan, Text, pp. 551-53.
Alamgirnama — Muhammad Kazim, pp. 388-409.
35. *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* — Saqi Mustad Khan, Text, p. 81.
36. *Kalimat-i-Aurangzeb*, MS, Raza Library, Rampur, f. 115.

CHAPTER XI

SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

SOCIAL LIFE

The Muslims were divided into four main classes. The first was the nobility, or the Mansabdars, who were held in high esteem and occupied high posts in civil and military departments. Their income was very large, but hoarding was alien to their nature and spending was their characteristic trait. These spend-thrift aristocrats, who were almost all Muslim lords, enjoyed a very luxurious life. "A noble must have required servants almost by the hundred if we reckon his household on approximately the scale indicated by Abul Fazl, allowing four men for each elephant, two or three for each horse, a crowd in the kitchen, two crowds of tent-pitchers, adequate transport, torch-bearers, and all the other elements of a respectable establishment."[1]

This Muslim aristocratic class was divided into two sections. The first was of the foreign Amirs, who were further sub-divided into two classes : (*i*) Turanis, who came from the north of the Oxus and were of the Sunni sect; and (*ii*) Iranis, who came from the south of the Oxus and belonged to the Shia sect. The other section was formed by the native nobles, who may also be divided into two sections; (*a*) the Afghans, who outnumbered the Mughals; and (*b*) the Indian Muslims, who were born in India[2] and were the imperial servants and held high positions in civil and military departments. They were small in number but were highly paid and spent their earnings most extravagantly. They indulged in every kind of pleasure. Their greatest magnificence were in their women quarters, for they had as many as three or four wives and sometimes even more. Alcohol was their common vice and many died of intemperance.[3] A true picture of this Muslim aristocracy is drawn by a contemporary European traveller in these words :

"They spend all they have in luxury keeping a vast number of servants, but above all on concubines. These being many every one of them strives to be belov'd above the rest, using all manner of allurements, and caresses, perfumes and sweet ornaments. Sometimes to heighten their masters' lusts they give him compositions of pearl, gold, opium and amber; or else much wine that he may require company in bed. Then some drive away the flies, others rub his hands and feet, others dance, others play music and others do other things; and hence it is that for the most part they take the lawful wife's place; who sitting near her husband modestly winks at this affront; till she has an opportunity to

revenge herself. Those women are committed to the custody of eunuchs, but it is delivering up the sheep to the wolves; so lascivious are the women. And yet they are excusable, because the husbands, though they be peasants, lie apart from their wives, and only call them when they have occasion."[4]

According to Moreland,[5] this type of luxurious and voluptuous life led by the aristocracy adversely effected the economic condition of the country and the financial ruin of the aristocracy was imminent. It had also an important bearing on the economic life of the officials as well as that of the common people. "The provincial governors and other officials had in practice very wide powers, and when their resources were running low it was on the peasants and artisans that the burden fell, so that there is no reason to question the substantial truth of the picture which Bernier draws of the misery of the masses at the end of Shah Jahan's reign."[6]

The middle class of the Muslims comprised the professionals, such as scholars, religious men, lower officials, merchants and traders. De Laet, who visited the Panjāb in 1631, wrote, "The people of this class were leading quite a comfortable and peaceful life. The economic condition of the merchant class was better than that of others. Although their average income was probably not large, yet it was enough to meet their needs."[7]

The lower class, or the Muslim masses, were the real sufferers for they were the workmen, the labourers, the farmers, the petty shopkeepers, the domestic servants and all the other lower grade workers. Their condition was exceedingly miserable as their wages were very low. The workmen could hardly get a single meal a day, regularly. Their houses were wretched and practically unfurnished and they did not have sufficient covering to keep themselves warm in winter. They lived in a place and in conditions hardly above that of the animals, for they were ill-clothed, ill-fed and had dirty huts without any furniture.[8] Their children remained naked up to the age of twelve, except for a loin cloth or a chain[9] round their waist. Tavernier has depicted a moving picture of this class and writes, "By the way give me leave to tell you that the country people have no other clothing than a piece of linen to hide their secret parts, being miserably poor; for if their governors know they have anything about them, they seize it either as their right, or by force."[10]

The Hindus were divided into their traditional four classes. The Brahmans secured their social supremacy by a compilation of customary laws known as the 'Code of Manu'. Next to this superior and priestly class was the Kshatriyas, who were generally known as the military class. The class next to them was that of the Vaisyas or the Hindus who tended the herds, tilled the fields and carried on trade, and the fourth and lowest class was

that of Sudras or the menials. "Among the Hindus, who formed the great majority, the caste system existed substantially as it exists today. The Sikhs at that time were regarded merely as a sect of Hindus."[11] Bhai Gurdas, a great scholar and a contemporary of Shah Jahan, has given a graphic picture of the caste rigidity and the mutual jealousies among the people of the province. He writes, "The Hindus and Muslims are divided into four Varnas; and into four sects; and, in self-conceit, contempt of each other and arrogance, they enter into meaningless wringlings."[12] Socially the Hindus were further divided into a number of castes and sub-castes. The main basis of diversity of caste was the diversity of occupation.[13] The old division into Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, Sudras and the Malechhas (outcasts), who were below the Sudras, was but a division into the priest, the warrior, the husbandman, the artisan and the menial; and the more recenet development was the one which substituted trader for husbandman in order to denote the Vaisyas. Thus sprang that tangled web of caste restrictions and distinctions of ceremonial obligations, and of artificial purity and impurity, which had rendered the separation of occupation from descent so slow and so difficult in Hindu society, and which collectively constituted what is known as caste. Circumstances had raised the Brahmans to a position of extra-ordinary power; and, naturally, their teaching took the form which tended most effectually to preserve that power unimpaired.[14]

The Hindus formed the majority of the population. There were also many well-to-do chiefs among them. The lower branches of administration, specially the department of revenue and finance, were manned by them. The Khuts, Chaudharies and Muqadams were all Hindus. The principal merchants, businessmen and traders as well as petty shopkeepers were mostly Hindus. They had almost monopolized the banking and money-lending professions. The Hindu traders and money-lenders of Multan were well-known throughout India. Hindu Banjaras were attached to the armies, as, there being no regular commissariat arrangements, the provisions to the Mughal troops were supplied by these hereditary nomad merchants.[15] "Supplies were provided by huge bazars marching with the camp and by the nomadic tribes of Banjaras, who made a profession of carrying grain to feed the armies. Monserrate was much impressed by the plenty and cheapness of provisions in the great camp on its way to the Indus."[16]

The lowest class of society during this period was that of the slaves and eunuchs. "Slavery was a recognised institution in Mughal India as it was everywhere else in the world."[17] Each of the Mughal officials kept a regular army of servants, wretchedly paid and with their wages often in arrears, but generally honest; yet they were better off than the majority of the population on

whom they preyed. Apart from these were the regular slaves, a class which was continuously recruited from among prisoners of war, persons unable to pay the government taxes, or those who, in times of famine sold themselves or were sold by their parents for bread. Sometimes recurring famines resulted in heavy mortality, enslavement of children and even horrible cannibalism.[18] In 1646, scanty rainfall caused a famine in the Panjāb. Shah Jahan ordered ten kitchens for the distribution of cooked food to be established in the province and Syed Jalal[19] was commissioned to distribute ten thousand rupees to the poor and the destitutes. Children, who, perforce, had been sold, were ransomed by the government and restored to their parents. In February, 1647, Shah Jahan sanctioned another thirty thousand rupees for relief measures.[20] The condition of slaves was most abject and pitiable; and, unlike in the time of the early Muslim kings, their progress was very restricted. However, the eunuchs were better off than the slaves, since they were the personal and Harem attendants of the nobles, governors and the Mughal Emperors.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

The Panjāb witnessed more important changes in the religious life of the people during the period under study. At this time Sirhind was the centre of a very orthodox revivalism among the Muslims. It was led by Shaikh Ahmad-ul-Faruqi-us-Sirhindi (born 1563-64). Belonging to an orthodox Sufic order, he claimed to unite in him the spiritual powers of all the religious orders of orthodox Islam. He was acclaimed as a saint and revivalist, and a renovator of Islam of the second Millennium.[21] He aimed at purging Islam of all heretical accretions. Among other things he bent his energies and talents to destroy the growth of Shiaism and the Din-i-Illahi.

Thus in the Panjāb at this time were born two religious movements of great potentialities for good and evil, the second being the Sikh religion, which has been dealt earlier, in detail. Each in its own way profoundly influenced the religious and political life of the people of the empire in general and those of the Panjāb in particular.

Akbar's liberal and enlightened policy of religious toleration had made a healthy impression on Muslims and non-Muslims alike. The teachings of the Muslim Sufi-saints and the Catholic teachings of the Sikh Gurus had brought about a closer understanding between the Muslims and the Hindus and had thus loosened the ever-present tensions of religious ideology and beliefs. "Of course, sometimes this atmosphere was ruffled by the intolerant acts of the successors of Akbar or by the unsympathetic attitude of the high-browed Muslim nobles and the Qazis of the Panjāb,

yet, on the whole, Hindus and Muslims in the villages and the towns had begun to live as sons of the common soil."[22]

Hindus and Muslims studied side by side in the same schools without any restrictions; the study of the Persian language was made compulsory in education, at the initiative of Raja Todar Mal. The mutual exchange of words, thoughts and ideas, in art and literature, religion and worship, as well as adoptions and incorporation in other fields had set in. All these forces combined and cumulatively contributed to the cultural and social unity of the people during the reign of the Great Mughals. Each of the communities contributed to the literature of the other, enriching its vocabulary and ennobling its outlook in life and letters. All these forces, such as the tolerant religious outlook of Akbar the Great, free exchange of thoughts of the Hindu-Muslim saints and scholars, the high ideal of brotherhood of mankind and fatherhood of a common God set before the people by the Sikh Gurus, while reacting on each other, brought the two communities closer, merging them into a homogeneous whole. Some of the places of worship of the saints such as Farid Ganj-i-Shakar of Pak Pattan, Shah Daula of Gujrat,[23] Baba Lal of Dhianpur[24] near Batala, Sakhi Sarwar of Dera Ghazi Khan and Guga Peer, who were common to both the communities, cemented all the more their social and cultural unity. The fairs and the festivals, dress, amusements and the customs of the people of the Panjāb, which are described below rather elaborately, will throw some light on the social and cultural life of the people of the Panjāb during the Mughal regime.

The Great Mughals took much interest in social reforms. Akbar created administrative efficiency and, on humanitarian grounds, attempted to combine the religious and social practices, even though this was objected to by the Hindu and the Muslim orthodox leaders. He discouraged child marriage[25] and permitted widow marriage[26] among the Hindus.

Sati. A Hindu widow (Sati) was burnt alive on her husband's pyre, whether she was willing or not, though a husband was never subjected to such a sacrifice in case his wife passed away. Guru Nanak had emphatically raised his voice and preached against this detestable practice among the Hindus: "A Sati is not she who burneth herself on the pyre of her spouse; a Sati is she who dieth with the sheer shock of separation."[27]

Guru Amar Das prohibited, through persuation, the practice of Sati among his followers. Akbar also prohibited[28] Sati; he was, however, unable to eradicate it completely.[29] In the foothills of the Himalayas, some of the Muslim converts had retained the Hindu customs of Sati and female infanticide. Jahangir made these practices a capital offence. Shah Jahan also prohibited Sati and Aurangzeb similarly issued an edict in 1664, forbidding

this practice, but his government was powerless to enforce the prohibition everywhere in the face of popular opposition by the orthodox Hindus. Even then the Mughals had a considerable check over it.[30] Burnier, an European traveller who stayed in India for twelve years, has given a vivid picture of this evil practice in these words: "The Mahometans (Mohammadans), by whom the country is governed, are doing all in their power to suppress the barbarous custom. They do not, indeed, forbid it by a positive law, because it is a part of their policy to leave idolatorous population, which is much more numerous than their own, in the free exercise of its religion; but the practice is checked by indirect means. No woman can sacrifice herself without permission from the governor of the province in which she resides, and he never grants it until he shall have ascertained that she is not to be turned aside from her purpose; to accomplish this desirable end the governor reasons with the widow and makes her enticing promises; after which, if these methods fail, he sometimes sends her among his women, that the effect of their remonstrances may be tried."[31]

Position of Women. The position of women was not as high as it was in ancient India. No woman was allowed to enjoy an independent status. When unmarried, she had to be under the strict supervision of her parents; after marriage under that of her husband and on her husband's demise under her grown up sons. The Sikh Gurus had raised the prestige of woman equal to that of man, as they preached and prescribed respect for the female. Guru Nanak was a strong advocate of the cause of women whom the Brahmanical priests and society had reduced to a state of subjugation. He said, "It is by woman that we are conceived and from her that we are born." "It is woman we befriend and it is she who keeps the race going . . . . Why call her low, from whom are born kings and great men ?" Woman, he declared, was not only not inferior to man but had equal status and responsibility before God.[32]

The Parda system among the women of the Panjāb existed long before the advent of the Muslims into India. According to Mrs. Frieda H. Dass, it arose along with the division of persons into high and low castes and the seclusion of women became the hallmark of aristocracy. Mr. N. C. Mehta[33] has further supported this view that it was, of course, untrue that Islam brought the Parda into the Panjāb. Seclusion of women could be traced to all ancient communities and it was particularly so among the aristocracy during the palmy days of Hindu civilization. Indian Muslims followed the custom of the country and adopted the prevailing hallmark of gentility.[34]

However, it is also entirely untrue to say that the Parda system is of the Panjāb origin. According to the Quran, the women

can move about, but they have to cast down their eyes and to conceal those parts of their body that are apt to excite passions, and not to display their ornaments.[35] The Muslim women of the Panjāb did not enjoy the same privilege and position of the Arab women in India. They occupied a subordinate position, and were subjected to the will of their polygamous husbands. As any free-born Muslim could marry at least four wives at a time, no woman in a Muslim household could claim to be the mistress of her house.

The women in the Panjāb were excluded from mixing with men. They did observe a certain amount of Parda by using as veil which now passes under the name of Ghunghat (covering one's face with a cloth) and at times it was quite as rigid, elaborate and institutionalized as it was during the Muslim period, on account of the meeting of different cultures. When the Muslims came here they brought with them their own ideas about the Parda, which they had borrowed from the Iranians, in common with several other institutions.

The position of women under the Mughals can be thus summed up : that the masses, consisting mostly of peasant women moved about freely without wearing any veil or shrouds whatsoever; they did not live in seclusion and observed only Ghunghat. Respectable ladies went about in litters, called Dolis, which were carried sometimes by two and sometimes by four Kahars (Doli bearers), accompanied by their male servants or eunuchs. The women of the middle class used Burqas or long garments, which covered their heads and bodies down to their anklets.[36]

Drinks. The use of intoxicants, particularly the liquor, is prohibited in Islam. But in defiance of the Quranic injunctions, upper class Muslims were intemporate and were fond of wine. The religious heads, the Ulamas, too, were not free from this evil. The Pathan kings were also addicted to opium and poppy seeds. All the Mughal Emperors drank heavily, except Aurangzeb, and it was but natural that the subjects should follow their rulers.[37] Jahangir, though he himself drank wine, prohibited the drinking of wine and Bhang,[38] and suppressed gambling[39] altogether.

Dress. The influence exercised by the Mughals in transforming the national dress of the Panjāb was of no mean order and a marked change was wrought in due course. Gradually the people of the Panjāb inculcated a liking and preference for Muslim costume because it was the dress of their new masters. In compliance with certain rules and the etiquette of the Mughal Darbar and courts, people had to adopt the Mughal costumes, which were prescribed for official and ceremonial occasions and gradually the use of such dress became a fashion with them.

The Mughals had a special taste for cotton and silk and they preferred these fabrics to flimsy gauze-like stuffs which were in

fashion with the native aristocracy. The nobles bound their beards with a scarf called Romali and they tied around waist a cubit long white cloth with a red border. They also wore a white wrapper above that.

These garments were presents by the chiefs to the emperors as Nazrana (offerings) and were also often bestowed by the latter upon the high officials of their court as robes of honour. This was one of the reasons as to why these garments gained popularity among the people and, in course of time, became the popular dress of the Mughal period. These garments remained in vogue till the advent of British rule and even later. All the costumes of the period are described below :

Takauchiya : A coat without lining of the Panjāb form. Formerly it was slit in the skirt, and was tied on the left side. Akbar had ordered it to be made with a round skirt and to be tied on the right side. It required seven yards and seven Girihs, and five Girihs for the binding. The price for making a plain one varied from one rupee to three rupees; but, if this coat be adorned with ornamental stitching, from rupee one to rupees four and three-quarters. Besides, a Misqal of silk was required.

Peshwas : A coat open in front, which was of the same form, but tied in front. It was sometimes made without strings.

Dutahi : A coat, with lining, required six yards and four Girihs for the outside, six yards lining, four Girihs for the binding, nine Girihs for the border. The price of making one varied from one to three rupees. One Misqal of silk was also required.

Shsh-Ajida : The royal stitch coat or Shast-Khatt (for sixty rows) as it had sixty ornamental stitches per Girih. It had generally a double lining, and was sometimes wadded and quitted. The cost of its making was two rupees per yard.

Suzani : Required one-fourth seer of cotton and two Dams of silk. If sewed with Bakhiya stiches (back stiching), the price of making one was eight rupees; and that with Ajida stiches cost four rupees.

Qalmi : It was prepared from cotton and silk, and required three-fourth seer of cotton. The cost of making one was two rupees.

Qaba : This was generally called Jama-i-Pumbadar and was a wadded coat. It required one seer of cotton and two Mashas of silk. The price was one rupee to a quarter-rupee.

Gadar : This was a coat wider and longer than the Qaba, and contained more wadding. It required seven Gaz of stuff, six yards of lining, four Girihs for binding, nine for bordering, two and half seers cotton, three Mashas silk. Price was from one-half to one and one-half rupee.

Farji : It had no binding and was open in front. Some put buttons to it. It was worn over the coat and required five

yards twelve Girihs stuff, five yards and five Girihs for lining, fourteen Girihs for bordering, one seer of cotton, one Masha of silk. The price was from a quarter to one rupee.

Fargul : It resembled Yapanji, i.e. a rain coat, but was more comfortable and becoming. It required nine yards and six and a half Girihs of stuff, the same quantity of lining, six Mashas of silk and one seer cotton. It was made both single and double. The price was from one-half to two rupees.

Chakman : It was made of broad cloth, or woollen stuff, or wax cloth, which was very light and pretty. The rain could not go through it. It required six yards of stuff, five Girihs for binding, two Mashas of silk. The price for making one of broad cloth was rupees two, and rupees one and a half of wax cloth.

Shalwar (*Drawer*) *:* It was made of all kinds of stuff, single, double and wadded. It required three yards and eleven Girihs of cloth, six Girihs for the hem through which the string ran, three yards and five Girihs for lining, one and a quarter Masha of silk, half seer of cotton. The price was from four annas to eight annas.[40]

The trousers worn by the people during the pre-Islamic period made room for the Pajama, a more stylish and close fitting garment and later it took the shape of Shalwar tied by string with tassels at the waist. High heeld slippers were substituted for the Panjābi shoes by heelless ones and the so-called Jama (coat) became a part of the usual court dress, which in the early Mughal period reached down to the knees, but later went all the way down to the ankles. The Nadri wear was invented by Jahangir, which was a robe of honour usually granted to some of his favourite courtiers. Pagri (turban) was the greatest sartorial contribution of the Great Mughals to the people of the Panjāb, and it became the favourite head-dress.

The dress of the middle class and other people was very poor. In the case of soldiers, labourers and ordinary men, it included a piece of cloth for the head and a string tied round the waist with a cloth about the size of a napkin (Langoti) hiding the private parts. Babar has described this dress in a contemptuous term in his memoirs.

It is very difficult to describe minutely the dress of the noblewomen, because they lived in strict Purda. The paintings of most of the eminent ladies of the Mughal court are not found or are lacking in details. However, it is evident from the portrait of Nur Jahan that she wore close-fitting trousers and a bodice coming down to the end of the Shalwar. The female dancers dressed themselves in full shirts of the flimsiest material, with a long jougy Sari and a tight-fitting bodice with long sleeves.

The ordinary women's dress consisted of three garments, the legs up to waist were covered with Shalwars, generally known as

Suthans (Pajamas) or petticoats (Ghagra). On the body was worn the short jacket called Kurti or Choli or a longer jacket known as Kurta or Chola. The head was covered with a Chaddar or Dopatta, which was wrapped round the body also. It seems that the use of Sari and petticoat was also continued by the women. The girls, like boys, had not much to wear, even up to the age of twelve.

Ornaments. The use of varied and profuse jewellery for extra ornamentation was in vogue. The Kamarband, an ornament for the waist, was commonly used by both the sexes. For the rest it may be mentioned that almost every part of the body on which some ornament on other could possibly be fixed or hung, was fittingly adorned. Anklets, bracelets and armlets rivalled necklaces, collars and girdles, since the former added to masculine vigour. The nose ring is a Muslim contribution to Indian women face ornaments. The Muslims made earrings much lighter but more brilliant and valuable than before. The use of betel or Pan, to colour the lips as well as to sweeten the breath, and of henna to colour the palms, nails and finger tips of hands, as well as nails and soles of feet of women, became common. The henna was also used to dye grey beards, moustaches and hair. The children of the rich wore gold or silver bells and chains round their waists. The shoes of the nobles were of velvet or red leather and they took off their shoes when they entered the palace.

Food. The upper classes and particularly the Mughal nobles used to take very rich diet. It is said that a large number of dainty dishes were taken both at lunch and at dinner. Meat of different varieties and of various tastes was prepared daily. Fresh and dry fruits were freely consumed. Drinking was very much prevalent in those days. Tobacco and ice were also used by the people. But the food of the lower classes, and particularly of workers and peasants, was very poor. It consisted of dry bread which was taken either with cooked pulse or vegetables or butter and milk. "When they eat it, they stir it with the ends of their fingers in melted butter which is the usual food of the soldiers and poor people."[41] says Tavernier. However, the diet of peasants and workers might have been some Chapatis, a lump of Jaggari or an onion and pickle (Achar), some pulses and vegetables. It may be added that the use of buttermilk (Lassi) was common.

Amusements. There were many amusements and pastimes in which the Mughal Emperors took great interest and their example was also followed by the people of the Panjāb. Of indoor games, Shatranj (chess) and Chaupar, the game played with dice or Kowaris (shells) on a piece of cloth or board, were very popular with the aristocrats and commoners alike. Fine arts, such as music, dancing and painting, were other indoor entertainments which were popular with the people. As regards

the outdoor recreation, the Great Mughals showed special interest in hunting, chariot racing, pigeon flying, gladiatorial combats, elephant fights, and swimming. Chougan (Polo) and cock fighting were also very popular. Gambling was also a source of recreation. The Chandal-Mandal was another amongst the popular outdoor pastimes and even the women joined their men in revelry with freedom. Qamargahs was the greatest amusement of the Mughal Emperors. The important aspects of the social life of Muslim India were Razam and Bazam or warfare and social intercourse, respectively.[42]

Festivals and Fairs. Temperamentally, the people of the Land of the Five Rivers have been extremely fond of fairs and festivals. The crystal clear water of the rivers and the cool bracing breeze of the Himalayas and the hot sunshine of Jeth and Har (May and June) bring about a metamorphosis in the minds of the people. From times immemorial the people of the province have felt the impact of many cultures and, thus, gradually acquired a lively disposition, vigour and sportive nature. The people of no other part of the globe celebrate their fairs and festivals with as much ecstasy and enthusiasm as the people of the Panjāb.

Varied fairs and festivals were held in different places of the Panjāb, but Diwali, Dassera, Basant Panchmi, Lohri, Ram Naumi, Rakhi, Baisakhi, Shivratri, etc., were very old Hindu festivals and were celebrated in every corner of the province. The Muslims had their own festivals and, thus the number of such celebrations had increased enormously. The religious toleration of the Muslim Sufis contributed to the similarity between Hindu and Muslim festivals. Hindu festivals were always accompanied by a great bustle and noise of merry-makers and revellers who played music.

Because of the liberalism and monastic propaganda of the Sufis, and also on account of the eagerness of the Muslims to participate in Hindu festivals, the Hindus began to take part in Muslim festivals, viz. Id-ul-Fitar, Id-ul-Zaha, Nauroz, Shab-i-Barat and Muharam, and began to find pleasure in them. Akbar the Great imparted grandeur to the festivals and fairs of the Hindus and the Muslims, when he ordered their celebration by the government dignitaries as well. The description of festivals and fairs shows that the Panjāb was a land of festivities and rejoicings.

The city of Lahore was the centre of these festivities on all such occasions and also whenever the Emperors were there. The loveliness of all the buildings there was enhanced by gorgeous and tasteful decorations and by extensive illuminations. The courtiers and other dignitaries of the city used to appear in splendid garments, under a spacious canopy with deep fringes of gold. The Emperors, too, who wore diamonds, pearls and other precious

stones, added to the splendour of the ceremonies. In the absence of the Mughal Emperor, the governor of Lahore used to participate in these festivals with great enthusiasm.

The Muslims and Hindus, wearing gorgeous dresses, assembled with the set intention of making merry to their hearts content. There used to be stalls of sweetmeats, children's playthings, toys, fruits and eatables of every conceivable variety. The swings (Jhulane) were a common feature there. The jugglers entertained the multitude with their performances; the acrobats, snake charmers and other necromancers displayed their skill, while fiddlers, harpers, pipers, drummers, performers on the guitar and other musical instruments contributed in no small degree, to the pleasure of the audience.

Festivals were celebrated all over the Panjāb. Baisakhi was celebrated at Amritsar, Kartarpur, Eminabad and at all other important towns situated on the river banks. The people celebrated all these festivals with the same zest and grandeur in small towns and villages, as their counterparts did in the cities. In the rural areas alms were distributed to the Faqirs and free kitchens were started with the funds voluntarily contributed by the people to provide meals to those who came from distant places. This practice of voluntary contribution of funds developed into offerings in honour of the Muslim or the Hindu saints to their shrines, where the festivals or the fairs were held.[43]

ECONOMIC LIFE

Agriculture. During the Mughal period, the main source of the wealth of the Panjāb was agriculture. Natural fertility of the soil, adequate rainfall and the availability of other irrigation facilities combined to distinguish this province from the point of view of agricultural production. Land yielded so much that not only the requirements of the province were met, but food-grains were also exported to other parts of the country.

The Panjāb's superiority in the field of agriculture was, no doubt, primarily due to the fertility of the soil as well as the abundance of rainfall. However, besides these natural factors the human contribution, too, cannot be ignored. The interest shown by the Mughal Emperors in effecting improvements to the means of irrigation and in giving impetus to the adoption of better methods of cultivation played no less a part in making the Panjāb the granary of India. Although in some parts of the Panjāb rainfall was fairly sufficient, other parts did not have this benefit. Similarly, fertility of the soil varied from place to place. To be more precise, hills and submontane tracts of the province had sufficient rainfall, but it diminished sharply as the distance from the hills increased; so much so that Muzaffargarh and Multan

Districts had only five and seven inches of rainfall, respectively. In the words of Babar, "Many though its towns and cultivated lands are, it no where has running waters. Even where, as far as some towns, it is practicable to convey water by digging channels, this is not done. For not doing it there may be several reasons, one being that water is not all a necessity in cultivating crops and orchards. Autumn crops grow by the downpour of the rains themselves; and strange it is that spring crops grow even when no rain falls. To young trees water is made to flow by means of buckets on a wheel. They are given water constantly during two or three years; after which they need no more. Some vegetables are watered constantly."[44] The Mughal Emperors took upon themselves the responsibility to provide irrigation facilities in the areas where rainfall was insufficient. Besides digging canals and channels, they encouraged the sinking of wells. These measures are discussed in detail later.

During the period which preceded the advent of the Mughals, there was no efficient revenue àdministration and the prosperity of the cultivator was dependent on the goodwill of the king. The revenue was arbitrarily assessed at the time of each harvest and it was collected with severity. The beligerent forces destroyed the crops, but the Mughal rule provided the cultivators with an atmosphere of comparative tranquility. The Great Mughals considered that the prosperity of the country directly depended on the prosperity of the cultivators. Armies were strictly forbidden from destroying the standing crops, and they were not allowed to commit any transgressions while marching through the country. Agricultural cultivation in the Panjāb completely recovered from the decadent condition obtaining in the Sultanate period. Many a village and town cropped up.

Irrigation. As mentioned above, the Mughal Emperors took great interest in the improvement of irrigational facilities to the cultivators. Waste land was reclaimed, wells were sunk, tanks were constructed and four canals were opened to give an impetus to agriculture. Munshi Sujan Rai writes that "Near Shahpur have been taken out of this river (the Ravi) a royal canal which goes to the garden of Shalimar in Lahore, a second canal which goes to the Pargana of Pathan (Pathankot), a third which goes to the Pargana of Batala, and a fourth which goes to the Pargana of Biar Patti, (Haibatpur Patti). These canals do good to the crops of the Mahals."[45] Among other methods of irrigation, there were the Persian-wheels which drew water from the wells by means of a chain of earthen pots fastened to a rope. This method of irrigation was very much prevalent when Babar conquered India.[46] The Great Mughals always aided the peasants for digging such wells or constructing tanks. Generally, in all the places of habitation there were the common pastures of the

agriculturists and there was no difficulty in feeding the cattle.

The agriculture of the Mughal Panjāb, however, was handicapped by the undermining of the human element. The weaker stamina of the peasant, devitalised by under-feeding and the famines, resulted in recurring setbacks, with the result that improvement was not commensurate with the interest taken and efforts made. In the matter of the methods of cultivation, the quality of the seed, and the use of improved type of implements, therefore, not much headway was made. It is in this context that Moreland wrote, "India did not experience between 1600 and 1900 an agricultural revolution such as in some other countries coincided with the adoption of a policy of enclosure, or followed on the development of the modern ocean-borne commerce. . . . The changes since Akbar's time have indeed been numerous, and some of them have been important, but they have not sufficed to transform the system as a whole even at present. The plough and the ox, the millets and rice, the pulses and oilseeds and the whole tradition of the country-side link us with the sixteenth century and with earlier times in the history of the people."[47]

The land was cultivated by small holders, the substantial capitalist farmer being practically non-existent. Agricultural labour was generally immobile. Poor as the peasant was, there was little to tempt him away from his village, so long as his village could supply his food. There were also a large number of landless labourers who were practically serfs, tied to the land, in a condition of periodical slavery to the cultivators who fed and clothed them in return for their labour.[48]

Crops. The spring harvest of the Suba of Lahore produced Wheat, Cabul Vetches, Indian Vetches, Barley, Adas, Safflower, Poppy, Potherbs, Linseed, Mustard seed, Arzan, Peas, Carrots, Onions, Fenugreek, Persian Watermelons, Indian Watermelons, Cummin and Ajwain. The autumn harvest produced Sugarcane (Paunda), Common Sugarcane, Dark-coloured Rice, Common Rice, Kalt, Mash, Cotton, Moth, Gal, Turiya, Arzan, Indigo, Henna, Hemp, Potherbs, Kachara, Pan, Singhara, Jowari, Lahdara, Kodaram, Mandwa, Sesame, Shamakh, Mung, Kori and Turmeric.[49] The spring harvest of the Suba of Multan produced Wheat, Cabul Vetches, Barley, Adas, Safflower, Poppy, Potherbs, Linseed, Mustard seed, Arzan, Peas, Carrots, Onions, Fenugreek, Persian musk melons, Indian musk melons, Cummin, Kur Rice and Ajwain. For the purpose of cultivation the Panjāb was divided into revenue assessment circles, details of which are given in Appendix B.

Forests. The forests of the Panjāb were of two categories: The forests of the plains and those of the hills. For the most part the forests of the plains were mainly known as dry forests, growing in tracts of scanty rainfall and poor, sandy and often

salt-impregnated soil. In these forests the characteristic trees were the Tamarisk or Frash, the leafless caper or Karil, the Jand, the Van and a few *Acacias* of the species known as Kikar and Babul. Forests of this type, interspersed with large treeless wastes, occupied extensive areas in Lahore, Montgomery, Multan, Chenab, Jhelum and Shahpur Districts. In the Central Panjāb, large tracts covered with Dhak (*Butea frondosa*) were common. As these forests approached the hills, they became richer in species and gradually blended with the deciduous forests of the lower Himalayas, while to the south and west they gave place to the deserts of Rajputana and Sind. On the banks and islands of rivers and wherever water was near the surface, the Shisham often became gregarious. The Shisham (*Dalbergia sissoo*) and other thornless trees were planted on sides of the roads and paths.

The Saltra (*Shorea robustal*) was found in the small sub-montane forest of Kalesar in Ambala, in the Bilaspur State, and in a few scattered areas in Kangra District. The rocky hills of the Salt range and Kata-chitra were in parts covered with an open forest, in which the Olive (*Olea cuspidata*) and the Phulai (*Acacia modesta*) were the principal trees.

The hill forests fell into groups classified by their elevation. Those below three thousand feet were composed of scrub and bamboo, which were mainly found in Kangra District. Between two thousand five hundred and five thousand feet of elevation the Chil-pine (*Pinus longifolia*) was the principal tree. These forests were mainly found throughout Kangra, Kohuta Tehsil of Rawalpindi District and in the lower portions of the valleys of Kulu, Bashahar and the Bilaspur State. Between the elevation of five thousand and eight thousand feet occurred a true zone of the valuable Deodar tree (*Abies webbiana*), the Spruce (*Picea morinda*) and trees of various deciduous species.[50]

Unlike today the Panjāb under the Great Mughals was full of forests, as the cultivation was not carried out on scientific methods that we find now; hence the forests grew in abundance. The Great Mughals had to take special measures to protect the people from the robbers who always took shelter in those thick jungles. At least there were two such forests in the Panjāb which were always the places of refuge for the lawless and the rebels, such as the Lakhi jungle situated in the Sarkar of Dipalpur and the Kahnuwan in Gurdaspur District. Munshi Sujan Rai writing about the former says that "In the rainy season, the rivers Biah (the Beas) and Satlej reach the Mahal of this Sarkar[51] and extend broad and deep for leagues together over the surface of the land, and all the parts of this territory are submerged, the deluge of Noah seems to be acted again here every year. When the water subsides, so many jungles spring up all over this land, owing to the great moisture and dampness, that a pedestrian has great

difficulty in travelling. For this reason, this country is called the Lakhi jungle. The wicked men of this plain, owing to the assistance of the river (which flows in many streams by the dwellings of the inhabitants of these tracts) and the shelter afforded by the impassable jungle, which is in leagues in length and breadth, become ambuscanders, highwaymen, and thieves. The hand of the imperial commanders cannot reach the chastisement and destruction of these people".[52] As regards the Kahnuwan, it was also a great sporting place for the Mughal Emperors and the nobles. This was called Chhamb, which runs almost the whole length of the Tehsil of Gurdaspur from Pandori Bainsan on the north to Bheri on the south, close under the old high bank, or Dhaia, as it was locally termed.[53]

These forests were a great source of enjoyment for the Great Mughals, as they used them as hunting grounds. There were many more hunting places in the Panjāb where the Mughal Emperors held regular Qamargahs. In 1566, Akbar, while staying at Lahore, organised a grand battue, when fifty thousand beaters were employed for a month to drive in all the game within a space of ten miles in circumference.[54] It was again in May 1578, when Akbar was encamped at Bhera, situated on the left bank of the Jhelum, when in such a forest Qamargah was arranged, "in the course of which the game within a circumference of about forty-fifty miles was to be ringed in by a multitude of beaters."[55] This tradition was followed by Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The nobility had made hunting all the more enjoyable and such hunts had become very popular in the Panjāb.[56]

All these forests were regarded as fuel and fodder reserves and some closed forests were opened to grazing in times of draught.

TRADE

When the Arabs stopped the trans-shipment of goods through the Red Sea in the seventh century, the trade once again had to be diverted through the Black Sea, Harat and Kabul. This was a welcome opportunity for the traders not only to rehabilitate their economy, but to open up new markets for their merchandise in India. As a result of this, there was a phenomenal increase in trade and important commercial centres like Constatinople and Kabul became the hub of activity and also the headquarters for soldiers of fortune. Qandhar Pass witnessed a continual flow of trade into India and in fact became a focal point for a thriving commercial artery, pumping goods from the countries in the north to as far down as Lahore.[57]

The second route, which passed through Multan and Qandhar linking up India and Persia, had been established during the Arab

conquest. Now both the routes began to be exploited to their fullest capacity. But considering the difficulties and restrictions which traders had to face in those days of highway robberies, open and unashamed violence, poor means of transport, and insecure lines of communication, it is indeed surprising that so many merchants and traders were still abroad on these routes the year round. These pilgrims of profit symbolised a commercial daring which in those days was a rare phenomenon.

There was yet another route which linked the Panjāb with Tibet and western China. It ran through the Panjāb and Kashmir, and carried a vast section of the trade. However, the king of Tibet realising the potential dangers of a long and indefensible trade route, decided to seal it off. The invasion of his country by Shah Jahan had brought home to him the idea of paralysing these trade channels. Meanwhile internal trade continued to flourish along the traditional rivers and road routes, practically in the same way as during the Hindu times. The Muslim kings, particularly the Great Mughals, had of course given a kind of solidarity to these commercial transactions, with the result that the imperial capital of Delhi and the provincial capitals like Multan or Lahore expanded. The main internal routes of the Panjāb which were to be found during the reign of the Great Mughals are dealt with in Appendix D, under the caption 'Important Roads and Routes'.

Naturally with the acceleration of trade, these commercial centres, which housed from a quarter to half a million people, became, in due course, show-windows of the East. There was an unparalleled concentration of wealth in a few cities, which provided an incentive to many a western adventurer. The capitals continued to attract the wealth and skill from the outlying areas, denuding other commercial towns and centres of talent and knowledge. That is why during the period of the Great Mughals the importance of those smaller centres dwindled for they were progressively impoverished.

A large variety of articles such as cotton, silk, woollen fabrics, beads, yarn, indigo, salt, sugar, opium, borax, lac, sealing wax, etc., constituted Indian exports, whilst the imports consisted largely, of horses, luxury goods, curious and fabulous, which the Mughal rulers, devoted to dalliance and ostentatious display, loved to acquire. Lahore and Multan thus emerged as important bustling centres of trade and commerce.[58]

Despite all the progress, commercial expansion was, however, seriously restricted. As was common the world over, thefts and highway robberies were the order of the day. Conveyance was effected by means of pack-animals, as the roads were not fit for vehicles, while the danger of theft and violence was usually too great to permit of the passage of small or unprotected convoys. Merchants were, therefore, accustomed to wait at the recognised

starting-points until a sufficient number had gathered to form an effective caravan, one which would be able to resist attack. They had to wait for a considerably long time. Manrique, for instance, having missed a caravan at Multan, found he would have to wait six months for the next. Fortunately for him, a nobleman with a large following was setting out for Iran, and he was able to join the party. It is thus clear that ordinary mercantile caravans were few and far between, as indeed was generally the case in large parts of western Asia at that time. The author of Haji Baba has given the real picture of that age more clearly.

No lonely road was safe; trade caravans were set upon and life was held cheap. The majority of the road guards or watchmen were above reproach, but were unable to cope with the menace. However, many of them stooped to blackmail,[59] and even illegal levies by the local governors were all too common. The merchants could in no way lessen the extent and nature of these underhand taxes; and, no doubt, to recoup their losses, they charged exorbitant prices for their goods, but in the long run the traders and producers of commodities continued to suffer. This had, to speak generally, a crippling effect on trade and industry.

The situation was further aggravated by the gratuitous incursions of the agents of the governors into the field of business. Merchandise was suddenly forfeited at uneconomic prices, leaving the bewildered traders in a quandary. The system of state levies was by no means either uniform or just. Some traders who had influence could always contravene or by-pass local laws. Thus, the entire trading enterprise was uncertain and irrational. Prices were determined on an *ad-hoc* basis and therefore fluctuated according to the vagaries of fortune.[60]

As regards the internal trade, the Panjāb was self-sufficient in almost every respect. It had always enough for internal consumption and for export. The Banjaras carried on the business of conveying the surplus produce from one Sarkar of the province to another on a fairly large scale. It is not possible to give an exact estimate of the volume of internal trade, but a fairly correct idea can be had from the fact that villages lying around the headquarters of their respective Sarkars, with their Mandis (markets), were brisk centres of trade where exchanges of commodities took place in peaceful times.[61] The trading castes were the Kshatris in the centre and the north, the Banias in the east, and the Aroras in the west. The village trader was the collecting and distributing agent, but he almost always combined money-lending with shopkeeping. Nearly every cultivator was his client, and to him much of the agricultural produce of the village was handed over at a low price, to liquidate debts which had sometimes accumulated for generations.

INDUSTRY

The produce of the villages, i.e. food and clothes, was mainly consumed by the villagers themselves. Even the towns depended for most of their supplies on the country surrounding them. Agricultural manufactures were essentially primitive. The preparation of flour and wheat was, in general, a purely domestic undertaking. Gur (molasses) was extracted from sugarcane in village presses and furnaces of the type which are still generally prevalent in the Panjāb. The neighbourhood of Lahore produced a costly form of Gur known as candy.[62]

The biggest industrial centre in the province was Lahore. The factories of Lahore turned out many masterpieces of workmanship. Shawls of special texture, Mayan and carpets of superior quality were made at Lahore in addition to arms and ammunition. "Lahore is by far the largest city in the east" says De Laet, who visited Lahore in 1531. According to Munshi Sujan Rai: "Bajwara[63] near Hoshiarpur, was famous for its cloth, especially for salts of Adhars, Deriah, Panch Tolia, Jhona white Chera, and gold embroidered Fotas. At Sultanpur, in the Jullundur Doab, were manufactured Chhint, Dolai, and embroidered clothes of a fine order, especially Baftas, Chariah Fotas, Sozani, Adoka, table clothes, tray covers and small tents and weapons such as the Jamdharas, Katari and lance. At Gujrat were manufactured swords, Jamdharas, and embroidered cloth. A species of horse resembling the Arab was also reared there, some of them selling for a thousand rupees each. Near the salt mines of Shamasabad, trays, dishes, lamps and other fancy articles of rock salt were made."[64]

Oil pressing and cotton ginning were carried on by the primitive methods which are still in vogue in villages. Spirits were widely distilled from sugar by age-old methods, in spite of repeated edicts issued by the Mughal Emperors. Forests and jungles were numerous and consequently villagers generally had a better supply of fire-wood and timber than what is now possible. Iron and copper continued to be worked in the Himalayas, but the prosperity of these industries depended on the local supply of fuel for melting. Salt was mined in the salt ranges, and was taxed like everything else. Handicrafts generally were characterised by variety and skill[65] rather than economic importance. Many of the craftsmen who catered to the tastes of the ruling classes at Lahore or Delhi showed skill and industry, but the production was not sufficient and a large part of the value of their products was due to the cost of the material rather than the cost of applied process. Iron mongery was limited by the high cost of the metal and wood-work by the small demand for furniture. Leather working was not a prominent industry, shoes being not so commonly

worn. Saddles were mainly made of cloth and the halters of rope. Horses were seldom used as beasts of burden.

Paper was made by hand and this was being done in the jails. "Good paper is manufactured in this town (Sialkot), especially the Mansinghi paper and silken paper of very good texture, white, clean and durable. These are exported in all directions."[66] Brass had replaced earthen ware, but the number of the potters' caste, who later took to agriculture, testifies to the relatively greater importance of the industry at that time. The ships and boats used in the Indus and other rivers of the Panjāb were made at Lahore.[67]

Building as an industry was not popular at all. The ruling classes occasionally spent vast sums on small mud forts, mosques and tombs which were allowed to go to ruin by their successors. They lived for the most part rather in tents than in palaces. Craftsmen were paid meagre salaries and were liable to ill treatment by the ruling classes; such conditions were bound to act as a deterrant to the production of superior quality of work. Textile industries were more important, as evidenced by the large number of the weaver caste. Silk garments were widely worn by the upper classes, and the fashion of the time prescribed an extensive wardrobe for any one who desired to move in good society. Silk weaving was carried on at Lahore, where Akbar, who had a special liking for it, established an imperial workshop. But here again the industry was handicapped by the poverty of the workers. Though each man worked for himself, he was financially dependent on a middleman, who advanced the price of the raw material and took over the finished articles at his own valuation, leaving the worker a scanty livelihood. The degradation of the artisan was to some extent retarded by the imperial workshops; but generally speaking the actual producer in industry, as in agriculture, had to live on a miserable pittance, the bulk of the profit from his work being appropriated in the one case by the middleman, as in the other by the money-lender and the state official.[68]

The condition of skilled artisans in the indigenous industries, such as carpet-weavers,[69] leather-workers, brass-workers and the like, was not satisfactory. The capitalists in some trade centres safeguarded their interests by a trade practice, according to which when an artisan left one employer for another, the second employer was held to be liable to the first to the extent of all advances received, and the thraldom of the artisan to the second employer was accordingly maintained. The hereditary nature of many caste industries, and the tradition of preserving the trade secrets within the trade caste was another impediment in the way of uplift of this class.

MINERALS

Abul Fazl makes a mention in the Ain-i-Akbari of copper and iron mines at Mandi and Suket now in Himachal Pradesh. Copper was smelted in considerable quantities in various parts of the outer Himalayas in Kulu, where a Killas-like rock persists along the whole range, and was known to be copper-bearing. Veins of galena and of copper pyrites occurred in the lower Himalayas in Kulu and in the Simla hill states; stibnite was found in the Shigri in the valley of the Chandra river in Lahul. Iron was found in Kangra District at several points, along the Dhola Dhar (the white range), in the form of crystals of magnetic oxide of iron imbeded in decomposed and friable mica schists. The supply was practically inexhaustible. Iron mines were also worked at Kot Khai in Simla and in the hill states of Jubbal, Bashahr, Mandi and Suket.[70] The Sirmur area possessed several iron mines, but these were not worked owing to their inaccessibility.

There were quarries at Bakhli in Mandi, near Kanhiara in Kangra District and throughout Kulu which had good quality ores. There were salt mines at Dhankot on the Indus, at Makhiala and Shamasabad.[71] But Munshi Sujan Rai Bhandari mentions the latter places only and he gives a long account of the rock of salt near Shamasabad and the names of the best mines, i.e. the modern Kheora mines. The beds of salt, in the salt range from which the range derives its name, occur in the shape of solid rock on the slopes of this tableland, and form the largest known despoits in the world. The mineral was quarried at the village of Kheora a few miles north-east of Pind Dadan Khan, at Nurpur in Jhelum District, at Warcha in Shahpur District, and at Kalabagh in Mianwali District.

We learn from the Ain-i-Akbari that the merchants purchased rock salt from the mines at 2/5 to 9-3/5 pies a maund, the lord of the domain charged a royalty of four annas on each porter of salt, i.e. on 1-1/4 maund, and thes tate levied a duty of 11-1/3 pies on every maund. Thus, a maund of salt at the pit mouth cost in all from five annas 1-2/3 pies to five annas 8-13/15 pies; a little less than 5-1/2 annas, on an average, was the cost price of rock salt in Akbar's reign.

There was also a quarry of sweet lime in this region, says Sujan Rai Bhandari.[72] In Jammu there was a mine of tin. Gravel was taken from the stream Tavi, and by setting it on fire, tin of unparalleled whiteness, hardness and durability was made. In some places in the northern mountains there were mines of copper, brass and iron, which also yielded revenue to the Mughal government. In certain rivers, especially the Beas and the Jhelum, gold was obtained by washing sand or panning.[73]

NOTES

1. *India at the Death of Akbar* — Moreland, p. 260.
2. *The Mughal Kingship and Nobility* — R. P. Khosla, pp. 226-29.
3. *Empire of the Great Mughal* — De Laet (Hoyland), p. 90.
4. *Indian Travel of Tavernier* — S. N. Sen, p. 247.
5. *India at the Death of Akbar* — Moreland, p. 262.
6. *India at the Death of Akbar* — Moreland, p. 262.
7. *Empire of the Great Mughal* — De Laet (Hoyland), p. 88.
8. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 88, 89.
9. Known as Taraggi, in Panjabi language.
10. *Travels in India* — J. B. Tavernier, pp. 296, 297.
11. *India at the Death of Akbar* — Moreland, p. 23.
12. *Varan* - Bhai Gurdas, Vars, pp. 1-21.
13. *Memoirs of Babar*, Vol. II — King, p. 241.
14. *Panjab Census Report*, Vol. I — Ibbetson (1881), p. 335.
    A History of Politics — Edward Jenks (1900), pp. 61-65.
    Industry and Trade — E. M. Marshal (1919), p. 682.
15. *Wealth and Welfare of the Panjab* — H. Calvert (Lahore), p. 52.
    Mussalmans and Moneylenders in the Panjab — M. M. Thornburn (1886), p. 56.
16. *Akbar the Great Mughal* — Smith, p. 262.
17. *The Mughal Empire* — Jaffar, p. 394.
18. *India at the Death of Akbar* — Moreland, p. 266.
19. *Badshahnama*, Vol. II — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, pp. 315, 316.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 289, 632.
21. Majadal Alf-i-Sani.
22. *History of the Panjab* — Kirpal Singh Narang, p. 238.
23. *India of Aurangzeb* — Jadunath Sarkar, pp. 88, 99, 100.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 88, 99.
25. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III — Jarrett, p. 398.
    Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. II — W. H. Lowe, p. 306.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 356.
27. *Adi Granth*, Suhi ki Var, p. 787.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 336.
29. *Akbar the Great Mughal* — Smith, pp. 131, 133.
30. "The Hindu women were happy that the Muslims became the masters of India, to deliver them from the tyranny of the Brahmans, who always desired their deaths, because the widows being never burnt without all their ornaments of gold and silver about them, and under the religious ceremony none except them could have the power to touch their ashes; who never failed to pick up all that was precious from the remains of the widows. However, the Great Mughals and other Muslim princes, had ordered their governors of the provinces to employ all their cares in suppressing that abuse." (*Indian Travels of Thavepot and Careri* — S. N. Sen, p. 120.)
31. *Travels in the Mughal Empire* — Burnier, pp. 306, 307.
32. *Adi Granth*, Sri Rag Mahala 1, Chhand 2.
33. *The Leader*, Allahabad — N. C. Mehta, May, 1928.
34. For a detailed account please read :—
    Ramayana Podhia, Swarj 33, Sloka 197.
    Yudh Kandam, Swarj 114, Sloka 942.
    Hariwans Purana — Vishnu Paroh, Adhyaya, 19.
    Kautilya's Arthshatra — Shama Shastri (Tr.), p. 188.
    Ancient Hindu Policy — N. N. Law, p. 144.
35. *Al-Quran*, Chapter XXIV, Verses 30-31.
36. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. I (1935), pp. 342-F.
37. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Jarrett, pp. 340, 360, 369, 391, 392.
38. *Mmoirs of Jehangir*, Vol. I — R & B, p. 75.
39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Jarrett, pp. 94-96.
41. *Travels in India* — J. B. Tavernier, p. 295.
42. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 308-16.
J.A.S.B., Vol. I (1935), p. 287.
43. *Travels in the Mughal Empire* — Burnier, pp. 268-70.
Storia-do-Mogar, Vol. II — Manucci, pp. 348, 349.
Travels in India, Vol. I — (Tr. Bell) Tavernier, pp. 379-81.
The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors — S. R. Sharma, pp. 81, 82.
44. *Babarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 486.
45. *India of Aurangzeb* — Jadunath Sarkar, pp. 104, 105.
46. "In Lahore, Dipalpur and those parts, people water by means of a wheel. They make two circles of ropes long enough to suit the depth of the well fix strips of wood between them, and on these fasten pitchers. The ropes with the wood and attached pitchers are put over the well wheel. At one end of the wheel-axle a second wheel is fixed, and close (Qash) to it another on an upright axle. This last wheel the bullock turns; its teeth catch in the teeth of the second, and thus the wheel with the pitchers is turned. A trough is set where the water empties from the pitchers and from this the water is conveyed everywhere." (*Babarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 486.)
47. *India at the Death of Akbar* — Moreland, p. 101.
"Thevenot who visited India in 1666 A.D. has given the contemporary picture of the province of the Panjab about the agricultural produce. He says, "Lahore (Panjab) is one of the largest and most abundant provinces of India; the rivers that are in it render it extremely fertile, it yields all that is necessary for life, rice, as well as corn and fruits are plentiful there, there is pretty good wine also and the best of all Indostan."
48. *India at the Death of Akbar* — Moreland, pp. 7-14, 401-07.
The Indian Village Community — Badan Powell, p. 274.
49. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarrett, p. 119.
50. *The Settlement Manual* — James Douie, pp. 151-53.
Panjab Administration Report, p. 224.
51. The Sarkar of Dipalpur — Identical with the modern Montgomery District.
52. *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* — Sujan Rai, Text, p. 63.
Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. IX, p. 492.
53. It was in the marshes of Kahnuwan that the first Ghallu-ghara (bloody carnage) of the Sikhs took place in 1746, when Yahiya Khan, the governor of Lahore had overtaken the Sikhs, seven thousand were killed and three thousand were taken prisoners.
54. *Akbarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 411.
55. *Akbar the Great Mughal* — Smith (1962), p. 113.
56. *Travels in India* — Tavernier, p. 297.
57. *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* — Moreland, pp. 83, 84.
Mughal Administration — Jadunath Sarkar, pp. 55, 56.
58. *India at the Death of Akbar* — Moreland, pp. 219-21.
59. *Panjab Administration Reports* (1920-21), pp. 277, 283.
India at the Death of Akbar — Moreland, pp. 6-9, 12-14, 21-50.
Village Communities in the East and the West — Summer Maine (1876), pp. 118, 119.
60. *Village Communities in the East and the West* — Summer Maine, pp. 118, 119.
61. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. I (1935), pp. 215, 216.
62. Thevenot who visited India in 1666, however, referring to the manufactures in the province of the Panjab says, "There are in the towns manufactures not only of all sorts of painted clothes, but also of everything else that is wrought in the Indies, and indeed according to the account of my India it brings into the Great Mughal above thirty-seven millions a year which is a great argument of the fruitfulness."

63. *India of Aurangzeb* — Jadunath Sarkar, p. 83.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
65. *India at the Death of Akbar* — Moreland, p. 175.
66. *India of Aurangzeb* — Jadunath Sarkar, p. 95.
Imperial Gazetter of India Vol. XII, p. 452.
Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I—Blochman, p. 110.
67. *India at the Death of Akbar* — Moreland, p. 167.
68. *India of Aurangzeb* — Jadunath Sarkar, pp. 94-100.
India at the Death of Akbar — Moreland, pp. 160-66, 185-89.
The Land of the Five Rivers — Trevaskis, p. 137.
69. *India at the Death of Akbar* — Moreland, pp. 177, 178.
70. On the Beas, 131 miles from Pathankot. It is a post for trade with Ladakh and Yarkand.
71. Shamasabad and Patyale. (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I—Jarrett, p. 402.)
72. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
73. *India of Aurangzeb* — Jadunath Sarkar, p. 101.

CHAPTER XII

EDUCATION AND LITERATURE

The Muslim rulers attached great importance to education. Their prophet had taught them that it was better to educate one's child than to give gold in charity. To every Muslim the attainment of knowledge is ordained by religion. Hazart Muhammad had said, "Knowledge should be sought from the cradle to the grave and should be acquired even if one has to go to China."

Most of the Muslim monarchs, and also the Mughal Emperors, were great patrons of learning. Their love of learning is quite evident from the fact that their courts were adorned with scholars of great erudition. Although during the reign of the Great Mughals, there was no regular department of public instruction, yet there is evidence to show that they had a department which looked after religion and education. The educational institutions were particularly looked upon with respect and liberally subsidised. There were great centres of learning such as Lahore, Uch, Thatta, Sialkot, Batala, Dipalpur, Pak Pattan, Multan, Samana, Sunam, Jullundur, Sirhind, Ambala, Thanesar, Panipat, Sultanpur, Bajwara and also some small centres spread all over the Panjāb, where thousands of people thronged to quench their thirst for knowledge. Sometimes large enough grants were set apart by the Mughal Emperors to run these educational institutions.

The Mughal Emperors opened schools in various parts of the Panjāb and sought to supplement these efforts by extensive patronage of literary work. There are hardly any appreciable records to give detailed information about these schools, colleges and seminaries run by the Mughal government in the Panjāb. The Mughal Emperors not only encouraged the study and cultivation of the higher arts, literature and philosophies by their liberal grants and rewards to the deserving men, but also founded a good many schools and colleges, and gave adequate endowments for their upkeep, in addition to the regular grants by which the religious schools in the mosques and in the houses of the Qazis were maintained in every town and village. It was also due to their efforts for the spread of education that paper was first introduced into the Panjāb from Samarkand, where it was produced, and a number of factories were set up in India, the chief being at Sialkot. This was indeed one of the most material contributions made by the Great Mughals to the progress of education in India.[1]

Babar and Humayun did not have much time to take up the cause of education as conditions during their regimes were mostly unsettled. However, they patronised all the chief centres of

learning which existed before the advent of the Great Mughals. Sher Shah Sur also established a school at Narnaul.[2]

Akbar was deeply interested in the promotion of education to which he had given special impetus, especially during his fourteen years' stay in the Panjāb from 1585 to 1598. Not only were the educational institutions provided with renowned professors, but the entire system of education was reformed. "We see in Akbar, perhaps for the first time in Muslim history, a Muslim monarch sincerely eager to further the education of Muhammadans and Hindus alike. We also notice for the first time the Hindus and Muhammadans studying in the same schools and colleges."[3] Persian was made a compulsory subject for all; female education was not neglected. Akbar laid down some very definite instructions as to the method of teaching in schools in order to save the great waste of time involved in the methods which were then in vogue. The teachers were called upon to teach their pupils first by practice in writing and then by making them commit to memory some moral sayings and precepts. Abul Fazl says, "Care is to be taken that he learns to understand everything himself; but the teacher may assist him a little."

The following subjects were prescribed by Akbar as essential for every one to study according to the needs of the time: (*i*) Morals and social behaviour; (*ii*) arithmetic; (*iii*) notations of numbers; (*iv*) agriculture; (*v*) mensuration; (*vi*) geometry; (*vii*) astronomy; (*viii*) science of foretelling; (*ix*) household; (*x*) rules of government; (*xi*) medicine; (*xii*) logic; (*xiii*) Tabi (medical), Riyazi (mathematics), and Ilahi (science of divinity); and (*xiv*) history. Those people taking up Sanskrit were required to study: (*i*) grammar; (*ii*) philology; (*iii*) logic; and (*iv*) Vedant and Patanjali. In fact, during the Mughal period education was diffused through these three-fold means: (*i*) Schools; (*ii*) mosques and monasteries; and (*iii*) private houses typifying three forms of education, viz. university, primary and domestic. All the above-mentioned subjects were compulsory for the university scholars studying in big centres.

The initiative taken by Akbar had provided a scope for individual and private enterprise also. In the reign of Jehangir there were schools in almost every village and town, which were certainly not government-aided. They had come into being through local and private efforts. Moreover, education was afterwards considered quite outside the scope of temporal activities. It was a profession reserved for religious recluses who imparted it free or at nominal charges. "There was also in Lahore a Mission school started by the Christian Fathers under the patronage of the government for giving instruction to the sons of the nobles."[4]

The same trend continued during the reign of Shah Jahan, rather with more vigour, and education flourished like any other

activity in the Panjāb. Institutions conducted by Muslim holymen mushroomed during this period in most of the towns.

During the reign of Aurangzeb, education in the Panjāb continued as before. Muslim schools were prominent because they enjoyed the royal grants and other privileges, whereas the non-Muslim schools had to depend on their private meagre resources, due to Aurangzeb's staunch religious policy. Nearly all the Muslim schools used to be connected with mosques, where teaching of the Quran was the main subject. They also gave instruction in the Persian classics. In Aurangzeb's days, Sialkot and Thatta became particularly noted and important centres of education.[5] According to Munshi Sujan Rai, "The city of Thatta was famous for learning Theology, Philology and Politics, and both the cities of Sialkot and Thatta had above four hundred schools and colleges for training up young men in those parts of learning."[6]

There existed separate Maktabs for the education of girls; but usually they received their education in the same school where the boys did, up to the primary standard, when sexual consciousness had not yet awakened; after that they were segregated and given their education either privately or in the schools specially provided for them. The daughters of the nobles were given higher education in their own houses by learned ladies or old men of tried morals employed for the purpose. After acquiring primary education in the Maktabs meant for them or at home, the girls used to be further educated by some elderly ladies of proved piety in domestic science, i.e. cooking, spinning, sewing and looking after the young. Proper arrangements were made for the instruction of girls in household affairs and the subject loomed large in the curriculum designed for them.[7]

Technical education was given in Karkhanas (workshops) of apprenticeship. The boys who did not attend a Maktab or a Madrasa were sent to these workshops for receiving necessary training in arts and crafts. The trading classes maintained their own schools for the instruction of their children in the rudiments of the three R's, and made suitable arrangements for the promotion of their knowledge in business and accounts. Such schools have survived even to our own times. The fact that arts and crafts, industries and commerce flourished abundantly in the Muslim Panjāb points to the existence of a good system of technical education.[8]

PERSIAN AND ARABIC LITERATURE

Samana[9] was considered to be the greatest centre of Muslim learning before Babar appeared in the Panjāb. This place was called the Mecca of India because it happened to be the residence of some renowned Arabic and Persian scholars. Here the Muslim edicts were finally expounded. Languages, other than Persian

and Arabic, were usually neglected and it was to the development of these two that the Sultans of Delhi contributed in a large measure. With the appearance of the Great Mughals on the scene a great renaissance occurred in the field of education, in which other languages, besides Arabic and Persian, were very much encouraged. The credit for this renaissance goes to Akbar, who wanted to be the king of all Indians and thus treated all languages on par and helped greatly to the development of all languages. The reign of the Great Mughals is called the golden period of the Persian language. Every scholar of Arabic was adept in Persian.

Persian literature of this period may be placed under four heads, viz.: (*i*) Translations from Sanskrit; (*ii*) poetry; (*iii*) history; and (*iv*) commentaries and other works. Many Muslim scholars, poets, teachers and commentators, who did a lot for the all-round development of Persian literature, flourished during this period. Amongst others the following names my be mentioned with emphasis.

Raja Todar Mal. Raja Todar Mal was a Tandon Kshatri of Chiniot, in Jhang District, 22 miles from Lyalpur, a town of considerable antiquity, believed to have been founded about the time when Lahore came into being.[10] He was the most trusted man of Sher Shah and later joined the service of Akbar, under whom he earned a great name as a general, a statesman, a financial expert and a reformer in revenue administration.

Raja Todar Mal was the first patron of the Persian language in the real sense of the word, and gave it regal status for the first time in this country. The most important reform introduced by Todar Mal was the change in the language and the characters used for the revenue accounts. Previously these were maintained in Hindi by Hindu Muharrirs. Todar Mal ordered, in 1582 (990 A.H.), that all government accounts should henceforth be written in Persian. He thus forced his co-religionists to learn the court language of their rulers—a circumstance which stands a good comparison with the introduction of the English language in the courts of India. The study of Persian, therefore, became necessary for its pecuniary advantages.[11]

Raja Todar Mal was a great scholar of Persian and Arabic. His mastery over Arabic is established from the fact that he used Arabic words and phrases spontaneously in his work entitled Khazin-Asrar, wherein he has quoted idiomatic phrases from the Al-Quran. In his work Khazin-Asrar, Todar Mal displays a wonderful flight of imagination and the style is free and ornate and exhibits mastery over the art of composition. His second work in Persian was Todran. He also translated Bhagvad Puran into Persian and his last work was Risala-dar-Fan-i-Siaq, a treatise on arithmetic.[12]

Sayyid Abdulla Sultanpuri. Abdulla was the resident of Sultanpur, generally known as Sultanpur Lodi, which is now a town in Kapurthala District. He was the greatest Arabic and Persian scholar of his age. He was famous for his learning and accomplishments, and became celebrated under the title of Shaikh-i-Islami, in the reign of Islam Shah and enjoyed the surname of Makhdum-ul-Mulk in the reigns of Humayun and Akbar.[13] He died in 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.)

Abdulla was a scholar of Asul, Fiqah and History. As regards his works, he wrote Ismat-i-Anbiya and a commentary to Shamail-ul-Nabi in Persian.[14]

Sa'adullah Khan. Sa'adullah Khan was a Thaim by caste and a resident of the village of Pitraki, in Chiniot, in Jhang District. His father was a Jat and the family lived in great privation. At an early age he came to Lahore and lived in mosques where he persued his studies. After some years he went to Delhi where he got further education from some great scholars of the capital. He attracted the attention of Shah Jahan, who raised him to the rank of the chief Dewan of the state. To quote Ibn-i-Hasan, "Sa'adullah Khan was decidedly the most learned, the most efficient and the best Dewan of Emperor Shah Jahan."[15] His works, which were mainly based on intellectual reasoning,[16] are not available[17] these days.

Sujan Rai Bhandari. Sujan Rai Bhandari, a resident of Batala, District Gurdaspur, was a great scholar of Persian prose. He wrote Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh in the 40th year of the reign of Aurangzeb, corresponding to 1107 A.H. (1695-96 A.D.), and spent two years to complete it. It is written in elegant Persian, replenished with metaphors and quotations of appropriate verses. As regards the subject matter the book may be divided into three parts:

1. The Geography of India during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb.
2. The History of the Rajas of India from the time of Yudhishtar, the Pandava king, to the reign of Rai Pishaura.
3. The History of the Muslim Emperors from the time of Nasir-ud-din Subuktagin until the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb.

The Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh is probably the first ancient history, wherein the narrative of the Muslim Emperors has been written by a Hindu. The description of the Panjāb and references to the Sikhs form a very valuable part of the work.[18]

Chander Bhan Brahman. Chander Bhan was born at Lahore and was a man of great literary attainments. He was a poet of Persian and his pen name was Brahman. He entered the service of Mir Abdul Karim, the superintendent of buildings at Lahore and later joined the service of Amir-ul-Umara Afzal Khan. He

presented to Shah Jahan, Chahar Chaman, his best work, on the festival of Nauroz at Sirhind. For this the Emperor honoured him with the high title of Munshi-us-Zaman. His main works are: (*i*) Chahar Chaman; (*ii*) Insha-i-Brahman; (*iii*) Guldasta; (*iv*) Tuhfa-ul-Anwar; (*v*) Karnama; (*vi*) Tuhfa-ul-Fusha; (*vii*) Majma-ul-Fusha; and (*viii*) Tuhfa-ul-Awad.

Chahar Chaman is divided into four parts; the first gives certain public events of Shah Jahan's reign; the second describes contemporary India; the third records some personal anecdotes of his life; and the fourth includes some wise sayings, his autobiography, and some letters of his own. The Insha-i-Brahman represented a very popular collection of letters giving useful information about the reign of Shah Jahan.

Chander Bhan Brahman was a poet possessing a tolerant disposition and wide outlook. He could write both prose and poetry with equal elegance. If credit can be given to any Persian writer for having absorbed and reproduced the style of Abul Fazl, undoubtedly it would go to Chander Bhan. His work Chahar Chaman is an outstanding instance of what ornate and embellished prose can be.[19]

Abdul Hamid Lahori. Abdul Hamid Lahori was born at Lahore but later had settled at Thatta. He was the student of Abul Fazl and thus picked up his very style. He was a sound scholar of Persian prose whom Shah Jahan appointed as Court Historian probably in 1643. Shah Jahan wanted a comprehensive history of his reign to be written after the style of the Akbarnama of Abul Fazl. Abdul Hamid was already an old man when he undertook the writing of the Badshahnama, popularly known as Shah Jahannama, and completed it on November 9, 1648. He died on August 30, 1654.

Lahori's Badshahnama covers the first twenty years of Shah Jahan's reign. He adopted the style of Abul Fazl. The real value of this work lies in the second part, which records the events of the second cycle.[20]

Maulana Kamal. Sialkot was a great seat of learning. There was a college there in which very learned teachers of Persian and Arabic imparted education on all subjects and attracted students from far and near. It was on account of the reputation of this Madrasa that Maulana Kamal, getting angry with Husain, the governor of Kashmir, came to Sialkot in 971 A.H. (1564 A.D.), and joined the college as a teacher and taught the students. Kamal was a master of both Persian and Arabic and was a very good speaker.[21]

Mullah Abdul Hakim Sialkoti. Mullah Sialkoti was a great scholar, author and commentator. For sxisty years he gave instruction to the people and his fame for learning spread throughout India. He wrote many works in Persian which have become

rare, rather almost extinct. He was a great philosopher and theologian. His chief works are commentaries on Byzavi Mukaddimat Arba'talayaj, Mutawal, Shah Moafique, Shamsa, Akayad Mullah Jalal, and Hikmat-ul-Ain. He died in 1656.

In the words of Sujan Rai Bhandari, "The Mullah was the most accomplished of the accomplished, the most perfect of scholars, the manifestation of the upright nature, the ocean of the waves of learning and perfection, the man of unrivalled accomplishments and beneficence—spread learning still further. By writing marginal commentaries on some books, he interpreted the meaning of difficult passages. The pupils who joined his blessed school from far and near, attained too many accomplishments. When he passed away, that leader of the men of God and guide of the creatures of the Deity, Maulvi Abdulla, the second son of the saved soul (Abdul Hakim), engaged himself in increasing the glory of the school and in guiding the pupils. He made his internal virtues match his external learning and his religious poverty the close associate of his scholarship. As he promoted sweeter manners and acted as the guide of all classes of men, this great man was surnamed 'the Imam of the Age'. He passed on to the Eternal world in the 26th year of Alamgir's reign (1682 A.D.)".[22]

Mullah Jami Lahori. Jami Lahori was a great poet of Persian. He was a teacher also, but unfortunately his works are not available anywhere.

Munshi Har Karan. Munshi Har Karan, son of Mathra Das Multani, had compiled his famous work Insha-i-Har Karan, between 1624 and 1630. Its chief interest lies in its presenting official forms of Letters of Appointment thereby throwing light on the functions of different officials and Mughal administrative practices. It is written in Persian prose.

There were many more minor Sufi saints who were primarily great scholars of Persian and Arabic, and were controlling various seats of learning (Khanqahs). They learnt and taught these languages and preached Islamic theology. In the theory of knowledge they discarded the ultimate authority of reason, and made direct realisation, like the Samadhis of the Hindus, the proof of religion. Like the Hindu philosophers, they argued that through ordinary means of knowledge man can know only the relative, and as God is absolute, he cannot gain any positive knowledge of His qualities or nature. He must, therefore, depend upon revelation—prophetic or personal—to obtain that knowledge. They further taught that it was possible to know God because God's nature was not different in essence from that of man, and that the human soul partook of the divine and would, after death, return to its divine source. This was the theme of the works of the Sufi poets who wrote in Persian poetry and prose during the period under our study. The author has spared no effort to find

out their individual works in various libraries, like The Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library in Bankipur, Patna; National Library, Calcutta; Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta; Panjāb State Archives, Patiala; and the National Archives of India, Delhi; but all in vain. Consequently, their names and works being mentioned by the contemporary writers can be given such as Syed Muhammad, Kamil Shah, Shaikh Husain, Shah Shams-ud-din, Mian Natha, Shah Abul Ma'ali, Mian Mir, Maskin Shah, Shah Charagh, Khawaja Haji Jamal, Shah Dargahi, Shah Sharaf, Shah Anayat Qadri, Muhammad Ghous, Abdulla Shah Baloch, Ali Shah Qadri, Shah Kaku and Muhammad Salim (all residents of Lahore), Shaikh Shams-ud-din, Jalal-ud-din, Shaikh Shibli, Abdul Karim, Shaikh Imam, Nizam-ud-din and Shah Ali (Panipat), Shah Ahmed and Jalal-ud-din (Thanesar), Shaikh Muhammad Qadir (Batala), and Bullahe Shah (Kasur). All of them richly contributed to Persian literature.

The Panjāb has remained unrivalled for the number of its Sufi shrines, which could be seen everywhere situated at distances of about a mile or two from one another. There was hardly a shrine which did not possess some traditional verse of its own. It was noble, pious, and sweet poetry which inspired the search of Divine Love, and cemented Hindu-Muslim unity. With the lapse of time, Sufism and the Hindu Vendanta ultimately had an abiding common aspiration for communion with God, and it was this common vehicle of spiritual approach to God that brought them nearer to each other.

Guru Nanak was a pioneer in patronising Persian; he included a few hymns in Persian in the Adi Granth. Guru Gobind Singh wrote the Zafarnama in Persian. Bhai Nand Lal Goya wrote Dewan-i-Goya in Persian. It is a clear proof of the contribution of the Sikhs, if proof were needed, to Persian literature and refutes the charge by Dr. Sayyid Abdulla that "the Sikhs did not contribute to Persian but only patronised Panjābi."[23]

Arabic was the religious language of Muslims. To contribute to its development was incumbent on every pious Muslim. In order to attain salvation it was necessary for a Muslim to learn Arabic, because, without learning this language, it was not possible for him to read the Quran. It was commented upon and translated by many persons. Maulana Abdulla Sultanpuri, as stated above, was a great scholar of Arabic.[24]

URDU LITERATURE

One of the most significant contributions of the Great Mughals is the Urdu language. Urdu is a Turkish word which means a military camp. It is a matter of common knowledge that people in a military camp, hailing from various parts of the country and

speaking different languages and dialects, blend themselves into one unit. And, after a long association among themselves, they freely and copiously adopt one another's word and phrases, which ultimately lead to the creation of a new language. Urdu language, a product of the military camp, is thus a mixture of Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Hindi and some other languages. It is a common spoken dialect that emerged as a consequence of contact between the foreign Turks and other Central Asian Muslims on the one hand, and the Indians on the other, during the period of the Sultanate of Delhi (1206-1526) or a little earlier. But it remained in a fluid condition for nearly two hundred years, and attained the status of a written language during the reign of the Great Mughals. It was originally called Zaban-i-Hindwi (the Indian language) and subsequently got the name of Urdu.

While determining the origin of Urdu and the reasons for its coming into being, various critics have expressed different views. According to Maulana Muhammad Hussain Azad, it emerged from the Brijbhasha dialect of western Hindi. Hafiz Mahmud Shirani, author of the Panjāb-men-Urdu, holds the view that Urdu grew out of contact between Panjābi and Sindhi on the one hand and Persian on the other. But Dr. Masud Husain of Aligarh University has recently propounded a theory that the spoken language of Delhi in the early days of the Sultanate was Harianvi. For the first time, Shaikh Farid-ud-din Ganj-i-Shakar collected Hindwi words for the repetition of God's name (Zikr). Many a Muslim mystic rendered into this mixed language some popular works of love and romance. The saints of the Bhakti movement also contributed greatly to the evolution of Hindi-Urdu language. Like the Sufis, they made use of Hindwi as the medium of their expression and not Sanskrit, which could not be understood by the common people. Gradually this language developed and acquired a literary form and became the *lingua franca* of India. "Originally it was an off-spring of Hindi Prakrits but under a long and sustained influence of spoken Persian its vocabulary gradually softened itself until it came to acquire the present form and texture."[25] According to another source "the influence of Persian education on the Hindus soon showed itself in the language of the people. A new dialect formed itself, the language which we now-a-days call Urdu or Hindustani. The share of the Hindus in the formation and perfection of this new dialect is, we believe, greater than historians and scholars are generally willing to admit. The origin of Urdu, and the time in which it arose, will appear in a new light when viewed in connection with the progress of the Hindus in the study of the Persian language; and the question which has occasionally been put, why did not Urdu form itself before seems to us completely answered."[26] One of the most

fruitful results of this mutually reciprocal understanding and intercourse, facilitated by the liberal educational policy of Muslim kings, was the creation of a new language, Urdu, the off-spring of Persian and Hindi, which in course of time superseded its parents and became the *lingua franca.* That it is foreign to the soil and must be got rid of on that score, is wholly erroneous and betrays an utter ignorance of Indo-Islamic cultural history. The real place of Urdu in the culture of the country is admirably set forth by a fair-minded Hindi scholar in the following words: "Almost every work in Indo-Persian literature contains large number of words of Indian origin, and thousands of Persian words became naturalised in every Indian vernacular language. The mingling of Persian, Arabic and Turkish words and ideas with languages and concepts of Sanskritic origin is extremely interesting from the philological point of view, and this co-ordination of unknowns resulted in the origin of the beautiful Urdu language. That language in itself symbolised the reconciliation of the hitherto irreconcilable and mutually hostile types of civilization represented by Hinduism and Islam."[27]

The intellectual, commercial and social intercourse of the various communities coupled with the hearty welcome of the Hindus, made Urdu a very popular language of India. The language, developed by the combined efforts of both Hindus and Muslims, can now boast of a fairly wide and varied literature of its own, both in poetry and prose. It is a common heritage of both the communities and it would be equally unfair for either to subject it to a step-motherly treatment.[28]

The following Urdu poets of the Panjāb contributed a lot towards the development of this language. Maulana Muhammad Afzal of Panipat, who died in 1616 (1035 A.H.), wrote Bara Mah generally known as Mukat-Kahani; Shaikh Usman of Jullundur was a famous Urdu poet and was a contemporary of Shah Jahan; Munshi Wali Ram wrote one Masnavi in Urdu; Nasir Ali Sirhindi was a poet of fame; Muhammad Afzal Lahori wrote poetry; and Shaikh Abul Farj was a well-known Urdu poet. Muhammad Fazil of Batala, born in 1668 (1079 A.H.), wrote about forty books in Urdu and Persian. Musa was the contemporary of Muhammad Fazil of Batala, and Shaikh Muhammad Mur of Batala was another Urdu writer who wrote Munajat. The works of these poets are almost extinct and thus cannot be commented upon.

PANJABI LITERATURE

The earliest phase of the Panjābi literature synchronises with the times in which the modern Indian group of Indo-Aryan languages was shaping itself into distinct independent lánguages. This period may be regarded as extending from the eighth to

middle of the fifteenth century. A major part of the literary product of this period has been irretrievably lost to posterity, partly because of the political uncertainties of the times and mainly on account of the vandalism of the invading hordes from the north-west. Many a missing link still remains leaving gaps in the literary history of this period. The subtle beauty of the literary composition of Shaikh Farid (1173-1266) most explicitly envisages the existence of what Dr. Mohan Singh calls "a pretty long pre-Nanak age of Panjābi literature."[29]

A perusal of the works of Guru Gorakh Nath (940-1031) and many of his followers like Charpat Nath, Chaurangi Nath and Ratan Nath who flourished in Northern India during the ninth, the tenth and the eleventh centuries and their contemporary Adheman, author of Saneh-Raso (Sandesh), provides ample proof of this Panjābi literary activity, in the form of their use of a number of distinctive Panjābi word-forms and verb-formations. The Panjāb was a major centre of the exploits of the Naths and Siddhas, and it was quite natural for them to imbibe the flavour of the local speech, as it was evolving itself out of the Apbhramsha stage. There is a great affinity between the old Panjābi vocabulary, old Sindhi and old Rajasthani, popularly known as Dingal, and it provides a very interesting field for research for the cultural historians of the Panjāb and North-Western India.[30]

The first centre of Panjābi literary activity emerged in the Lehanda (western) region of the Panjāb in and around the old town of Multan, which lay on the famous trade routes with Sind, Rajasthan and the middle-eastern countries. Even before the Muslim conquest of India, Multan had become an important centre of Muslim culture under the impact of Muslim traders and through the efforts of Sufi saints. Adheman makes a reference to his abode in Multan. Shaikh Farid-ud-din Ganj-i-Shakar also established himself at Pak Pattan, which became a very important rendezvous of the Sufi mystics and Muslim scholars. Dipalpur, the abode of the love-adventures of Rani Koklan and Raja Hodi,[31] was another such important centre for the proselytising zeal of these Sufi divines and mystics, which led to adoption of Panjābi as a literary medium. Similarly the first Panjābi love-romance writer Damodar, contemporary of Akbar,[32] also belonged to this region. He adopted the Lehanda dialect for his famous Qissa Heer-Ranjha, which soon developed into a vital vehicle of self expression of the mystics. Thus Lehanda was the first to emerge as a literary dialect of Central Panjāb (Lahore, Amritsar and Gurdaspur Districts), before it yielded this place of honour to Majhi. By the time the latter evolved into shape, Lehanda had already achieved a distinctive character, remarkable for its romantic mystique, economy of expression and sweetness.[33]

A reference may, however, be made to the war-ballads, known as Vars, which are attributed to pre-Nanak period. The martial character of the races inhabiting the Panjāb and the turbulent times through which it passed under successive invasions from the North-West, undoubtedly prompted the rise and growth of such poetry. The key motif of such poetry was to highlight the heroic and chivalrous deeds of its protagonists. The suggestion of Guru Arjan Dev, who edited the Adi Granth, to sing some of the verses included in it in accordance with the times of various such Vars, testify to their popularity. A whole world of the feudal Panjāb, with its princes and chieftains driven to dark passions of love, jealousy and gallantry, is conjured up in these Vars. Some of the most important and popular Vars of this age are known as the Var of Rai Kamal, the Var of Manj, the Var of Tunda Asraja, the Var of Sikander Ibrahim, the Var of Lal Behlima, etc. Their authorship is mostly anonymous.

Another link of the literary tradition of the Panjābi literature is provided by the existence of a rich folk-lore, which has been presented in the form of folk-songs, folk-stories, riddles, and popular sayings. While the ancestry of some of these may conclusively be traced to classical Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apbhramsha literatures, a major part of them belongs to the racial inheritance of the Panjāb, and mirrors the pastoral life and moods in haunting tones, with a flavour of the primordial elements like earth, sun, moon and stars. The sex relationships represented in these compositions of a collective mind are very simple, direct and uninhibited. Besides mirroring a whole social milieu, even the last traces of which are now fast disappearing, this folk-lore still retains, in ample measure, the collective wisdom of the people. Whenever the Panjābi poets felt a need to address the common man, they invariably fell back upon this inexhaustible store of tunes and tones and symbols and imagery.

After this promising start, the Panjābi literature did not throw up any luminous figure till two centuries later when its brightest star, Guru Nanak, appeared on the horizon. There must have been a long stretch of some minor poets, but little is known about them. This situation cannot be attributed to any specific reason, except that during that dark age of the literary history of the Panjāb much of its life ebbed away and what little sign of it remained was trampled down by ruthless vandals, the early Muslim invaders. But the appearance of Guru Nanak and the emergence of Sikh tradition more than redeemed this dismal state of affairs.

Although the poetry of Guru Nanak, as also of the Sikh religion which evolved out of his teachings, is the product of the same social ferment which gave birth to the Bhakti movement or renaissance in medieval Indian religion and art, yet it acquired a whole distinct character of its own. Both in its content and in

its temper the Sikh poetic tradition carries this distinctive mark. To the devotional exultation and mystic beatitude of the poetry of the Bhakti school, Guru Nanak added the element of historical involvement and commitment. This manifested itself in a strong denunciation of the political subjudication and administrative misrule a seething criticism of the religious rituals and dogmas sustained by a thoroughly decadant priestly class and ruthless demolition of all distinctions of caste and creed which separate man from fellow-man. Guru Nanak preached of a universal fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. While paying critical attention to the outer shackles on human personality, Guru Nanak did not forget to point out the moral and spiritual decay in which he found his own people. Describing the mark of Kaliyug he draws attention to the "corruption of the places of worship and decadance of social institution",[34] and explains it as a consequence flowing from people becoming fatalists, having cast off their Dharma, and degenerating into an ignorant mass of persons, dead and blind in spirit. Thus complete surrender of self to the will of a loving God acquired a new significance of a selfless dedication to the service of mankind and to the mitigation of its unhappy lot.[35]

The Panjābi poetry, with Guru Nanak, expanded its horizons and was endowed with a new daring and a fresh vigour. It forged strong links with the life of men and their dreams of fulfilment. He rejected the concept of God as an abstract construction of cold logic and replaced it by that of a personal God, an adorable Father, a loving Lord and an inspiring Protector. The Panjābi poetry began to glow with this emotional exuberance and warmth of human relationships. All this led to an unleashing of new forces and an energisation of a people, which is still, to a large extent, far from having exhausted itself. In more ways than one it can be said that Guru Nanak's poetry appeals to the modern imagination, and has been a great force in liberating the human soul and stimulating human imagination.

Both the catholicity of his belief and the radical nature of his outlook are reflected in Guru Nanak's attitude to poetic form and his literary taste. The conscious poet that he was, he made several innovations, which helped him to save the Panjābi poetic tradition from the conventional forms of traditional literature. In poetic form he drew heavily upon the folk-forms, besides adopting popular forms of Vars, Baramahs, Pauries, and Painti Akhari to his new content. In imagery, he replaced the contrived images with those drawn from the natural landscape of the Panjāb and the social and institutional life of its people. This set the norm for the Panjābi poetry to be written by succeeding poets, as his teachings set the norm for human conduct. Casting off poetic embellishments and shedding away ostentatious style, Guru Nanak's poetry

became a fresh, direct and intimate piece of beauty, both delicate and vital.

The works of Guru Nanak are incorporated in the Adi Granth. Most important of these are metaphysical-cum-lyrical Jap Ji, Sidh Gosht, Baramah and Painti Akhari. Besides, he wrote scores of lyrical poems known in Sikh literaure as Shabdas. Their popularity led to the creation of a whole mass of apocryphal literature attributed to him. "The age of Nanak is the golden age for the Panjābi life and letters, for, then the masses of the population found a religion and a literature right close to their heads and hearts."[36]

Guru Nanak was followed by successive Sikh Guru poets. A special mention may be made of Guru Ram Das, a great aesthete among religious poets; Guru Arjan Dev (1565-1606), who carved a niche for himself in the realm of medieval Indian culture by successfully executing the stupendous job of editing the Adi Granth (completed in 1604), which is a unique feat of its kind. In 1430 pages of this sacred text are included selected works of many important Bhakts (saints) of medieval India, including Kabir, Farid, Ramanand, Ravidas, Namdev, Surdas and Mirabai, besides the complete works of Guru Nanak, Guru Angad, Guru Amar Das, Guru Ram Das, Guru Arjan Dev and many other Bhakts. Later on, Guru Gobind Singh added the teachings of Guru Tegh Bahadur and a couple of his own writings.[37]

The Adi Granth is a unique work of significance in medieval Indian literature, both for its magnitude and its wide range. As an attempt to bring together the works of Bhakts of various religious beliefs and different castes, it is a magnificent symbol of the synthesis which Sikhism sought to achieve out of the chaos of medieval Indian religions and society. As a record of what the most sensitive souls of the medieval age of Indian history felt about the human condition around, or any situation about the destiny of man, and about the way to his salvation, it is of immense value to the social scientist. As an anthology of verse written in numerous languages and different styles then popular, it provides us with a highly authentic source for literary and linguistic research.[38]

The Adi Granth is a monument to the editing and organising genius of Guru Arjan. The job of collecting, sorting out, selecting and arranging the material, took him over four years. In this enterprise he was ably assisted by another eminent poet and Sikh scholar Bhai Gurdas. Major contribution to the Adi Granth also came from the pen of Guru Arjan himself. His compositions are mainly discursive or didactic. The lyrical element is subdued and is provided by a touching expression of a sense of great humility, of utter dedication of being the first among the illustrious line of Sikh martyrs.[39]

The energy and enthusiasm generated by the Sikh movement led to a great literary renaissance in the Panjāb. Another important Sikh poet of this age is Bhai Gurdas (1551-1629), who wrote both in Brijbhasha and in Panjābi. In Brijbhasha, he adhered to a conventional form, Swaiya, while in Panjābi he chose a more pliable form, i.e., Var. His writings, though didactic in character, are of great historical interest. Another distinction, which he shares with one of his contemporaries Shah Hussain, is the chaste Panjābi idiom, whose potentialities he availed of to the maximum. His similies evoke the image of a rural Panjāb, luxurient in forms and exhaustive in hues. Bhai Gurdas is called the St. Paul of Sikhism. His work is deemed to hold the key to the Sikh spiritual treasury and to make the best and purest Raht-nama. "Although derivative in thought and resonate and repetitive in vocabulary, his considerable volume of poetry, for its wealth of allusion and imagery fresh as well as rejuvenate, its ripeness of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh cultural scholarship and for the force and colourfulness of its style, entitles him to the rank of the greatest medieval Panjābi poet".[40]

In religious poetry, another stream of medieval Panjābi literature is that of Sufi poetry. From the very start, Sufi poetry has been very popular with the rural masses of the Panjāb, especially the Muslims. Although Panjābi Sufi poets belong to the great tradition of Sufi mystic poetry, which claimed the best minds of Arabia and Iran, it is distinctly an indigenous growth. Shaikh Farid-ud-din Masud Ganj-i-Shakar can appropriately be called the progenitor of the Sufi tradition of Panjābi poetry. A man of deep religious devotion, he was instrumental in converting large number of the local people to Islam. He wrote both to preach and to express his mystic experiences. A major portion of his works is included in Adi Granth, the Sikh scripture. Shaikh Farid's works in Panjābi other than those in the Adi Granth, consist of a set of Kafis, hundred and thirty Shaloks and Nasihatnama. It is a book on religious injunctions tinged with Sufi beliefs.[41] Shaikh Farid set the love and the norm for Panjābi Sufi poetry with his simple and direct style, a natural imagery drawn from the local landscape and institutional life and avoidance of the contrived and the pedantic.

Another Sufi poet was Madho Lal Husain (1539-1594), later known as Shaikh Madho the saint, who was born at Lahore. His literary work signified to Kafis (lyrics) of a highly mystic type. His verse is written in simple Panjābi, slightly overlaid with Arabic words. It excels in expression of thought and has a clear flow. In its simplicity and effectiveness it is superior to Farid's Panjābi.[42]

Shah Hussain (1539-1599), the weaver, contributed a great deal to this tradition by drawing heavily upon the folk-lore for his form. His lyrics, known as Kafian, are both deeply emotional

and musical, and the reader's response of exultation and passionate involvement is instantaneous. Highly subjective in content and intensity of feeling, they are beautiful specimens of the best romantic Panjābi poetry.[43]

One of the other Sufi poets, who wrote verse of great poetic charm and appeal, was Sultan Bahu (1629-1690), a poet who is universally regarded to have been among the greatest mystics of India. He was born at Avan[44] (Shorkot, Jhang District). Bahu was a great scholar of Arabic and Persian literatures, but in Panjābi there is only one Siharfi by him, which is very lengthy. His verse is composed in simple and unpretentious style. It has a well-marked character of its own and rests entirely on the resources of the poet's thought and knowledge of the Panjābi language of Jhang District.[45] Shah Sharaf (1659-1725), another Sufi poet, was the resident of Batala, District Gurdaspur. He became a Sufi saint on account of some domestic trouble and earned a good name both as a Sufi saint and as a Panjābi poet. He wrote lyrics (Kafis), which became popular in the Panjāb. His tomb is at Lahore.[46]

Bulhe Shah (1680-1752), another Sufi saint, was born in a Sayyed family residing at the village Pandoki in Kasur, sixteen miles to the south of Raiwind station, on the north bank of the river Beas, in 1680.[47] He is also generally considered to have been among the greatest of the Panjābi mystics and his lyrics (Kafis) have gained special popularity in the Panjābi poetry. "In truth he is one of the greatest Sufis of the world and his thought equals that of Jalal-ud-din Rumi and Shams Tabriz of Iran. As a poet Bulhe Shah is different from the other Sufi poets of the Panjābi character, which is more reasonable than emotional or passionate."[48]

Bulhe Shah places the Gurus and God on the same level and finds no difference between the two. He is the king of the Panjābi mystics, seems free from any foreign influence, truly expressing what is naturally felt in loving the divine, which is the greatness of Bulhe Shah, the poet. His verse is simple, yet very beautiful in form.[49]

Ali Haider (1690-1785), the Sufi poet, was born at Qazia, in Multan District, in 1690.[50] He paints well his disgust of the worldly possessions, which one has to leave after death. He calls them false. Haider is the only poet of Panjābi literature who played with words. It is on account of this that his thought is weak and the same idea is differently described. Physical love was his ideal for spiritual love and he, therefore, laid great stress on the use of words which naturally imparted a sort of brilliance to his language. He used Lehandi Panjābi (Multani), which is a sweet dialect of the Panjāb.[51]

Thus the Sufi poets who came to India from 1460 to 1707

with the object of leading the Indians to the beloved Muhammad's path, did creditable work for some years. The old Panjābi vigour asserted itself and in its turn influenced the Sufi beliefs. The mystics, therefore, imbided the best of Islam and Hinduism and developed a new sort of Sufi thought, more Panjābi than foreign in character. Anxious to carry this new thought to the masses, they versified it in their language. In troublous times, these Sufis maintained, with their preachings, the mental balance of the different communities and, through their poems, sent the message of peace, unity, and love to almost every home and hamlet. Of them Bulhe Shah's lyrics are known for their criticism of religious bigotry and hypocrisy, and Ali Haider is remarkable for introducing the style and the imagery of Persian Sufi poetry in Panjābi, which does not appear to have struck roots here.

Besides the religious and mystic traditions of medieval Panjābi poetry, the other two important traditions are those of war-ballads and love-romances. Between them these three traditions exhaust the three ideal types of manhood accepted by the medieval Panjāb i.e., the saint, the soldier and the lover. These were the types which tickled the imagination of the people of the Panjāb and commanded their respect. There are numerous war-ballads (Vars) in Panjābi, which adopted, as their theme, the wars waged by the Sikh Gurus against their tyrannical persecution by the Mughal Emperors. Of those the most important is Bhaire di Var, which describes the battles of Anandpur and Chamkaur between Guru Gobind Singh and the combined forces of the Mughals and the hill chiefs. Similarly, the martyrdom of Haqiqat Rai is the subject-matter of another ballad known as Agre di Var Haqiqat Rai. Guru Gobind Singh (1666-1707) also adapted a chapter of Markanday Puran, namely Chandi Charit, in a Panjābi Var, Chandi di Var. He was a great scholar and a prolific writer. The main body of his works is included in Dasam Granth in Brijbhasha. Chandi di Var is the most important of his Panjābi compositions and was written with the ostensible motive of instilling enthusiasm in the youth for a religious war against the oppressive overlordship of despotic rulers.

In love-romances, the medieval Panjābi literature is very rich. Stress being not laid on the originality of the story, every writer tried his skill on the few prevalent stories, which were either derived from the Arabic and Persian sources, as was the case with the stories of Yusuf-Zulekha (Joseph and Potiphen), Shirin-Farhad, Saif-ul-Maluk, and Laila-Majnu; or local tales were adopted for the purpose, as in the case of Heer-Ranjha, Sohni-Mahival, Sassi-Punnu, and Mirza-Sahiban. Thus a number of story-cycles grew around these tales, sometimes the number of poets contributing to a cycle going up to a hundred, as in the case of Heer-Ranjha. These were mostly local poets, known as Karishans,

who composed and wrote for the enjoyment of a limited audience. Some important writers are described here-under.

Damodar, a native of Jhang District, was the contemporary of Akbar and is the first poet in the Panjābi poetry who wrote the romance of Heer-Ranjha. His composition is in the Lehanda dialect. A piece of great charm and subtle poetic beauty, Damodar's story of Heer-Ranjha is in the classical India style, in which the human situation is made to adhere to the principle of poetic justice. Damodar's description is indirect and he forges a pregnant style remarkable for its masterly use of innuendo and sly humour.[52] Pilu, a contemporary of Guru Arjan, was the first to write the story of Mirza-Sahiban, which is available today only in parts. Hafiz Barkhurdar faithfully followed in his footsteps.

Not covered by any of the categories of medieval Panjābi poetry, referred to above, are the indignant satirical compositions of Suthra Shah, Jalhan, and Wajid. These poets poured ridicule on the shams and the frauds and the hypocrisy of the society in which they lived. There were also numerous Muslim poets who wrote exclusively Muslim religious poetry, deriving inspiration from Muslim history and religious and social law.

In the medieval age not much Panjābi prose was written and that written related to the lives of Sikh Gurus, especially Guru Nanak Dev, and the annotation of their works. These are known as Janam Sakhis (birth stories) and Teekas (translations). In Janam Sakhis, historical and mythical elements are all mixed together and many incredible miracles are attributed to their heroes. As pieces of historical information these are exasperating, but as pieces of literary prose they are very interesting. Puratan Janam Sakhi, popularly known as Walait Wali Janam Sakhi, is the oldest specimen of such writing and is ascribed to the time of Guru Arjan. Another one written by Bhai Meharban, a nephew of Guru Arjan, is the most voluminous and interesting. The one attributed to Bhai Bala is of dubious authorship, and there are so many apparent interpolations in it that its utility is greatly undermined. Bhai Mani Singh also wrote a Janam Sakhi, besides Sikhan di Bhagat Mala, a record of the important followers of the Sikh Gurus.

HINDI LITERATURE

During the Sultanate period, Hindi was in a state of evolution and had not yet become a language of literary expression. The Turkish Sultans were not disposed to extend any patronage to it. Nevertheless, it was gradually becoming the language of the people of Central India, and wandering saints of the Bhakti movement were, in the course of their pilgrimages, spreading it from place to place. This language was further developed by

saints like Gorakh Nath (940-1031), Charpat (890-990), Ramanand, Kabir, etc. It also received some impetus from the preachings of the Sufi saints.

When the Mughals came on the scene, Hindi was fast developing to the status of a literary language. Historians are agreed that, from the earliest times up to the middle of Akbar's reign, all government accounts were kept in Hindi or, generally speaking, in the local vernaculars. About 1500, during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, we hear for the first time of works composed by Hindus in the Persian language.[53] Guru Nanak while working at Sultanpur Lodi as an accountant under Daulat Khan Lodi, the then governor of the Panjāb, during the reign of Sikandar Lodi, maintained accounts in Hindi.[54]

Akbar's reign constitutes the golden age of Hindi poetry. The influence exercised by his glorious and victorious reign, his well-known preference for Hindu thought and mode of life, together with his policy of complete religious tolerance and recognition of merit, combined with peace, both internal and external, engendered a bracing atmosphere for the development of thought and literature. The result was that many first-rate Hindi poets produced distinguished poetic works which have become classics. The most notable luminaries of Hindi were Tulsi Das, Surdas and Birbal. Akbar himself liked Hindi poetry and extended patronage to Hindi poets. He is even stated to have composed some verses in that language. It is not, therefore, surprising that Hindi poetry made a remarkable progress during his reign. The most important feature of the age was that literary activities were not confined to the court and nobles. It was essentially a movement of the people and a large number of Hindi scholars and poets were found in the countryside and were patronised mainly by local landlords and well-to-do public men.

Jahangir too patronised Hindi scholars, saints and artists. Jahangir's brother Daniyal was a noted poet in Hindi. Shah Jahan continued the tradition of his royal house. The progress of Hindi literature recieved a setback in the time of Aurangzeb, who was not kindly disposed towards it. All the same, Hindi continued to flourish at the court of the Hindu Rajas.

Kirpa Ram was an unrivalled Hindi poet, with a charming style, because, under the patronage of the Great Mughals, this language was shedding off its grossness and was assimilating into itself all the sweetness and grace of the Persian language. Kirpa Ram composed his works chiefly in Brijbhasha, among which Hit-trangini was fairly well-known all over India for its elegant style and charming diction. It chiefly dwelt upon the nature of man and marked a break with the past, inasmuch as it was written in Dohas instead of Chhands, which were then generally used for the expression of erotic sentiment. So Kirpa Ram

broke new ground in Hindi literature by trying to compress his ideas into a few words.[55]

Raja Birbal was a great Hindi poet and was much liked by Akbar, who conferred on him the title of Kavi Rai.[56] "Birbal was as much renowned for his liberality, as for his musical skill and poetical talent. His short verses, bon-mots, and jokes, are still on the tounges of the people of Hindustan."[57] Raja Takhat Mal was also a great Hindi poet and composed Shirikar Kundki Chopai.[58] Ram Chara's Ram Vinoda, Nain Sukh's Vaidhya Manotsva, and Lakhshmi Narayan's Prem Trangini were among the other important Hindi works[59] of this period.

The Sikh Gurus also contributed a lot to Hindi literature. The critics and the scholars of Hindi literature are unanimously agreed that the fifth Guru Arjan wrote his hymns in Hindi. But the tenth Guru had given the real impetus to Hindi literature when he invited the scholars of the Hindi and the Sanskrit languages, such as Hans Ram and Mangal, and encouraged them to write as much as they could. Guru Gobind Singh has written his own hymns mainly in Hindi and was its great patron. The other poets and prose-writers who contributed to Hindi literature in the Panjāb during the period of our study were Chandan, Dhanna, Sadama, Bhog Raj, Amri Rai, Karresh and Gharib Das, who were all noted poets in Hindi. Sabha Chand Sondhi of Jullundur wrote Katha Ram Rup. Maharban and Hirde Ram were Hindi writers during Jahangir's reign; Surdas (1493-1563), Khushal Rai Anath Puri (1643-1695), Manohar Das Niranjani, Ram Chand (Born in 1663), Anath Puri, and Bala Lal of Lahore (1590-1710) were other writers. Among the Muslim Hindi writers were Shah Husain, Shaikh Abdul Qadus (Died in 1537), Muhammad Afzal (first name Gopal) (Died in 1683), Shaikh Sharif of Batala, and Bulleh Shah Qaderi of Kasur.

SANSKRIT LITERATURE

The Sultans of Delhi did not patronise Sanskrit literature and none of them had any Sanskrit poet at his court. During the later days of the Sultanate, however, a few Sanskrit works were rendered into Persian or some matter from certain Sanskrit works was incorporated in Persian works. Despite lack of royal patronage, the Sanskrit language and literature continued to flourish during the period and the adverse political conditions did not materially influence their progress.

With the advent of the Mughals, though the prospects for Sanskrit learning seemed to have brightened up, yet we do not witness any marked creation of this literature in the Panjāb during this period. It might be possible that some Pandits might have devoted their time and energies to teaching and preaching their

religious dogmas in Sanskrit, but no creative work of any other kind is forthcoming. Babar and Humayun were not interested in Sanskrit literature at all. Akbar was the first Mughal Emperor to extend patronage to Sanskrit and many scholars and poets of Sanskrit adorned his court and received recognition at his hands, but unfortunately none from the Panjāb. Akbar not only listened to their poems, but also discussed with them the principles of Hindu thought, religious and secular. Jahangir followed in the footsteps of his father, and employed Sanskrit poets and scholars. Although Shah Jahan was an orthodox Muslim, yet he, in pursuance of the ancestral policy, extended patronage to scholars of Sanskrit. The court historian Abdul Hamid Lahori gives the names of several Sanskrit poets, but none from the Panjāb, who were received by Shah Jahan from time to time. Aurangzeb, however, had no soft corner for Sanskrit learning and during his reign Sanskrit scholars ceased to be honoured at the Mughal court. But Sanskrit learning continued to flourish at the court of the Hindu Rajas. In spite of royal patronage, Sanskrit literature of the Mughal period cannot be called a first-rate, original and inspiring work of art.

NOTES

1. *Education in Muslim India* — S. M. Jaffar, pp. 139, 140.
2. *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. XXIII — Cunningham, p. 27.
3. *Promotion of Learning in India during Muhammadan Rule* — N. N. Law, p. 160.
4. *The Jesuits and the Great Mughal*, p. 48.
5. *The Provincial Government of the Mughals* — P. Saran, pp. 405-07.
   Akbar the Great Mughal — Smith, p. 386.
   A Short History of Aurangzeb — Jadunath Sarkar, pp. 453-55.
   History of Jahangir — Beni Prasad, pp. 12-21, 63.
   History of Shah Jahan of Delhi — Saxena, pp. 237-68.
   Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I—Blochman, p. 352.
6. *India of Aurangzeb* — Jadunath Sarkar, pp. 96, 97.
7. *Education in Muslim India* — S. M. Jaffar, pp. 187, 188.
   Present Day Problems of Indian Education — Zahir-ud-din Ahmed (1435), p. 28.
8. *Imperial Gazetteer of India;* Vol. IV, p. 436.
9. Seventeen miles south-west of Patiala. Samana was formed a. province by Ala-ud-din Khalji,like the province of] Lahore and Multan (*History of India*, Vol. III — Elliot and Dowson, p. 115.)
10. *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sind* — D. Ross, p. 107.
11. *J.R.A.S.*, September 1871, p. 178.
    Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I — Jarrett, p. 377.
12. *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* — Sujan Rai; Text, pp. 408-10.
13. *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* — Sujan Rai; Text, pp. 7, 66, 373.
14. *Bazm-i-Taimuria-Sayyid Sabah-ud-din* — Abdur Rahman (1948), p. 92.
    Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I — Jarrett, pp. 172, 614.
15. *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire* — Ibn-i-Hasan, pp. 195, 200.
16. *Maaqulat and Manqulat*.
17. *Bazm-i-Taimuria* — Abdur Rahman (1948), p. 212.

18. *History of India*, Vol. VIII — Elliot and Dowson, p. 5.
19. *Chahar Chaman* — Chander Bhan Brahman, 4th Chapter.
Bazm-i-Taimuria — Abdur Rahman, Text (1948), pp. 208-11.
History of Shah Jahan — Saxena, pp. 254, 255, 267.
20. *Badshahnama*, Vol. I — Abdul Hamid Lahori, Text, p. 10.
Bazm-i-Taimuria — Abdur Rahman, Text (1948), pp. 218, 219.
21. *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* — Sujan Rai Bhandari, Text, p. 73.
22. *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* — Sujan Rai Bhandari, Text, p. 73.
Bazm-i-Taimuria — Abdur Rahman, pp. 213, 214.
23. *Abdiyat-i-Farsi men Hinduon ka Hissa*, p. 186.
24. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. III, pp. 147, 251, 346.
Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I — Blochman, p. 352.
25. *The Calcutta Review* (1881), pp. 320, 321.
26. *A History of Literature* — P. E. Keay, p. 3.
27. *J.R.S.A.*, January 10, 1936, p. 232.
28. "I have always looked upon Urdu not as a language and as medium of culture — as a common heritage of both the communities (Hindus and Muslims)" — Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. "Urdu is a language of polite intercourse. It is heritage to whose present-day vitality and richness both Hindus and Muslims have contributed" — Hon. Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai.
29. *A History of Panjabi Literature* — Dr. Mohan Singh, pp. 12, 13.
30. *Panjabi Sahit da Ithas* — Dr. Gopal Singh Dardi, pp. 40-45.
31. *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sind* — Ross, p. 113.
32. *Panjabi Sahit da Ithas* — Dr. Gopal Singh Dardi, p. 141.
33. Although Panjabi scholars such as Dr. Mohan Singh have testified to the presence of Panjabi writing attributed to writers like Purhya or Pandya. Chand Bardai and Khusro, etc., it remains problematic to acclaim them as Panjabi writers any more than writers of the Panjab. The language used by them may indicate an occasional bias for Panjabi idiom or some traces of Panjabi word-forms may also be discovered in them, but their works manifestly belong more to present day Hindi-Urdu literary tradition than to Panjabi.
34. *Rag Basant*, Mahala 1.
Var Sri Rag, Shalok-Mahalla 1, 20(1).
35. *Var Malhar*, Shalok-Mahala 1.
36. *A History of Panjabi Literature* — Dr. Mohan Singh, p. 11.
37. *A History of Panjabi Literature* — Dr. Mohan Singh, pp. 23-25.
Panjabi Sahit da Ithas — Dr. Gopal Singh Dardi, pp. 55-104.
38. *A History of Panjabi Literature* — Dr. Mohan Singh, pp. 18, 19.
Panjabi Sahit da Ithas — Dr. Gopal Singh Dardi, pp. 104-26.
39. *History of Panjabi Literature* — Dr. Mohan Singh, pp. 18, 19.
Panjabi Sahit da Ithas — Dr. Gopal Singh Dardi, pp. 104-26.
40. *Panjabi Sahit da Ithas* — Dr. Gopal Singh Dardi, pp. 95-100.
A History of Panjabi Literature — Dr. Mohan Singh, pp. 46-48.
41. *Jawahir-i-Faridi*, p. 294.
Gulzar-i-Faridi, p. 80.
42. *Tazkira-i-Avliya-i-Hind*, Vol. III — Mirza Muhammad, Delhi pp. 33-38.
Hanschog — Bawa Budh Singh, pp. 106-15.
Tahqiqat-i-Chishti — Nur Ahmed Chishti, pp. 43-46.
43. *Panjabi Sahit da Ithas* — Dr. Gopal Singh Dardi, pp. 127-32.
44. *Manaqab-i-Sultani* — Sultan Hamid (Urdu Tr.), p. 125.
45. *Majmua Adbiyat Sultan Bahu* — Mian Fazl din (1915), pp. 9-24.
Panjabi Sahit da Ithas — Dr. Gopal Singh Dardi, pp. 133-35.
46. *Panjabi Sahit da Ithas* — Dr. Gopal Singh Dardi, pp. 134, 135.
47. *Bulhe Shah* — C. F. Usborne, p. 5.
48. *Panjabi Sufi Poets* — Lajwanti, Rama Krishna, p 40.

49. *Qanum-i-Ishaq*, Vol. II — Anwar Ali Shah of Rohtak, pp. 59, 64, 70, 73, 162.
Hans Chog — Bawa Budh Singh.
50. *J.R.A.S.*, 1869, p. 159.
Majmua Adbiyat Ali Haidar, Introduction, p. 3.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-25.
52. *A History of Panjabi Poetry* — Dr. Mohan Singh, p. 42.
Panjabi Sahit da Ithas — Dr. Gopal Singh Dardi, pp. 141-49.
53. *The Calcutta Review* (1881), pp. 320, 321.
54. *Adbiyat-i-Farsi men Hinduon ka Hissa* — Dr. Sayyid Abdulla (1942), pp. 7-14.
55. *History of Hindi Literature*, pp. 320-22.
56. Poet Laureate.
57. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Jarrett, pp. 442-44.
58. *History of Hindi Literature*, p. 386.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 361, 402, 406.

CHAPTER XIII

ART, ARCHITECTURE, PAINTING, SCULPTURE, GARDENING AND BUILDING OF TOWNS

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

The Central Asian architecture, with the arches and the vaults, the lofty minarets and the domes, brought by the early Turkish invaders had, by the time of Babar's invasion of India, flourished in India for more than three hundred years, side by side with the native architecture characterised by the arches built on the cantiliver principle and corbel brackets, narrow columns and flat roofs. The former had not been able to influence the latter to an appreciable extent, but, on the other hand, the Hindu ideas of art had influenced, to a considerable extent, the early Turkish architecture in this country. The reasons for this were the following.

The foreign Turkish rulers had to employ Indian craftsmen and sculptors, who, while sticking to their own traditions about the form and method of construction, introduced, unconsciously into the Muslim buildings many decorative and arthitectural details, which had been in vogue in the country for centuries in the past.

The early conquerors, almost in all cases, built their places of worship, royal edifices and even tombs out of the material got from the Hindu and Jain temples, which were so callously pulled down by those fanatics. Thus, the necessity for adjustment, which the material required, influenced and modified the foreign art and architecture.

Notwithstanding the striking contrast between the Muslim and Hindu styles, their buildings resembled each other in some particulars. Therefore, the Sultans of Delhi sometimes converted Hindu and Jain temples into mosques just after the demolition of the roofs and by erecting domes in their place, with an addition of the minarets.

On account of the circumstances enumerated above, the old native art continued to exert influence upon the Muslim architecture and this influence continued beyond the period of the Sultans of Delhi, and expressed itself in the narrow columns, plasters, corbel brackets and other ornamental features of the Mughal buildings.

In the domain of the fine arts, the richest contribution of the Muslims is in the Indo-Saracenic School of Painting, which had influenced the Great Mughals and mingled with the traditional

Panjābi paintings under the patronage of Akbar. As a result of the fusion, a new art of Panjābi painting was evolved.

The Muslim rule caused a distinct advance in architecture. As demonstrated by the relic of the past buildings, it seems that the Hindu kings squandered their wealth and artistic skill on temples and not on their palaces. But the Muslims built palaces and tombs in addition to their places of religion. The semi-circular radiating arch, the vaulted dome, as also the geometrically laid-out gardens, are particularly within the purview of Muslim art.

Babar intended to invite, from Constantinople, a pupil of the famous Albanian architect, Sinan, to assist him in his building projects; he had a poor opinion of the Panjābi art and skill. Most of his magnificent monuments have perished. From an architectural point of view, Lahore is a Mughal city and its Muslim remains, with a few exceptions, are in the Mughal style, the exceptions being the tomb of Shah Musa, near the Lahore Railway Station, which is in Afghan style, and the Mosque of Maryam Makani or Maryam Zamani by the eastern gateway of the Lahore fort, the style of which is transitional between the Afghan and the Mughal styles.[1]

Humayun's life was too unsettled to allow him to give free and full scope to his aesthetic fancy. Instead of using marble, stone or brick in the construction of his buildings, he used wood right through and this is the most striking feature of his architecture. The material records which have survived, of both Babar's and Humayun's contributions to the building art of the Panjāb, are almost negligible. However, owing to the unsettled conditions of the country under the first two Great Mughals, not much encouragement to architecture was possible during the early years. A few buildings of a private character which were erected in those days, in the Panjāb, show that the style of the Sayyeds and Afghans, as produced in the previous century, still continued. According to Sir Wolseley Haig : "Babar's marked aesthetic sense, communicated to his successors, inspired them under more favourable conditions to the production of their finest achievements, while Humayun's forced contact with the culture of the Safavids is reflected in the Persian influences noticeable in many of the Mughal buildings which followed."[2] Most of Babar's magnificent monuments have perished; the only one that has survived in the Panjāb, out of his major works, is the Kabuli Bagh at Panipat.

The Surs, who supplanted the Great Mughals (Babar and Humayun) for the time being, were remarkable builders. The palace built in the citadel of Agra by Sher Shah or his successor Islam Shah, was as exquisite a piece of decorative art as anything of its category in India. "This palace must have gone far to

justify the eulogium more than once passed on the works of these Pathans — that 'They built like giants and finished like goldsmiths; for the stones seem to have been of enormous size and the details most exquisite'."[3] One of Sher Shah's most magnificent monuments is the fort of Rohtas (Khurd), details of which with some more minor monuments are given at appropriate places.

In Akbar the Great, the greatest exponent of Hindu-Muslim unity, architecture, like other fine arts, found a most active and powerful patron. His buildings were characterised by the unity of Hindu and Muslim styles, of which sometimes the one predominated and sometimes the other; so much so that Fatehpur Sikri, the nucleus of architectural splendour in the reign of Akbar, has been very aptly described as "A reflex of the great mind of the man who built it." Even Akbar's architecture speaks for his statesmanship, aiming at Hindu-Muslim unity.

The style of architecture evolved by Akbar represented a fusion of the Hindu and Muslim styles and may be called the mixed Hindu-Muslim style or national Indian style of architecture. Although Lahore was regarded as only the secondary capital of the empire, which Akbar had patronised from 1584 to 1598, the fort that Akbar constructed there, almost at the same time as that of Agra, was conceived and carried out on practically the same grand scale. However, its lay-out generally indicates an advance on that of the more southerly capital, as it is rectangular in plan and the interior arrangements are more regularly aligned.

Jahangir's interest centered mainly round painting and gardening. His father's building activity was so vast and varied and was carried on for such a long period that he found it hard to rival him. Even then Jahangir's reign is not without architectural glory. A few magnificent buildings were erected during his reign and the Emperor himself had a hand in their plan, design and execution. "Under Jahangir's spasmodic supervision, which on occasions looked like undue interference, and with his dilettante temperament, the fine state of the structure is perhaps largely due. Jahangir had a trained eye for a picture, but not a mind that could understand the largeness and breadth required for architectural effect."[4]

The development of architecture reached the zenith of perfection in the time of Shah Jahan, who built palaces, mosques, tombs and pavillion of white marble at Agra, Lahore, Delhi, Kabul, Kashmir, Ajmer, Qandhar, Ahmedabad and other places. To the popular mind the glories of Shah Jahan's reign are far more vividly depicted in the art than in the literature of that period. The Emperor's entire attention was devoted to the development of architecture; and the buildings constructed in his reign stand as a living monument of unsurpassed constructive skill. They breathe

sublimity, peace, elegance, and grandeur, though over-elaboration in some of them appears a little grotesque to an expert. The lay beholder of art is simply enchanted by their all-round beauty. Even if the entire historical literature had perished, and only the buildings had remained to tell the story of Shah Jahan's reign, there is little doubt that it would have still been asserted as the most glorious in history.[5]

Experts hold divergent views on the architectural style of this period. Those who hesitate to credit the Panjāb genius with the creative originality to produce anything new or novel, trace in it a powerful extraneous influence. But others hold a contrary opinion and assert that this style is the natural growth and consummation of strictly Indian artistic traditions.[6] It is impossible to pronounce a final judgment on such a delicate question, but it seems clear that the truth lies between the two extremes. The style, it may reasonably be presumed, was the product of the impact of one culture on the other. It was not a Minerva-like creation springing full-grown from the head of one man, but a continuous growth of art in which many men of different cultures and followers of different traditions took part. It had a steady growth which attained perfection in this period, when it received keen impetus and patronage.[7]

After the death of Shah Jahan, the Mughal architecture began to deteriorate rapidly. His successor Aurangzeb was little interested in construction of buildings. He did not display any love for fine arts. He erected only a few buildings, none of which compare in architectural merit to the splendid monuments raised by his father, grandfather and great-grandfather. The Indo-Muslim architecture registered a downward trend after Shah Jahan's death.

PAINTING

The art of painting did not get the patronage of the Sultans of Delhi because, owing to the Quranic prohibition, this art was shunned by all the Muslim rulers, the Muslim nobility, as well as the rank and file. It was believed by them that a painter, who painted the figures of living beings, imagined that he was giving life to the object of his painting and thus he presumed to rival Allah (God), who alone is the giver of life. In view of this, the art of painting, at least of living beings, was considered irreligious by orthodox Muslims.

Akbar, though a Muslim, was a lover of fine art and used to say that, far from making a man irreligious, painting urges an artist to turn to God and seek His blessings in the task of imparting individuality to his work. The early Muslim artists confined themselves to the painting of inanimate objects, such as trees,

mountains, rivers, water and fire. The next step was to take to the drawing of birds and animals and then finally to human portraiture. Under Akbar, this art had very much developed in every corner of India. Akbar initiated the Mughal School of Pictorial Art. Under his patronage, this art mingled with the style of Indian painting which, despite neglect and lack of patronage, had survived since ancient times.[8]

The art of painting flourished during the reign of Jahangir. He was brought up in a court which extended a lavish patronage to art, and where he developed and trained his aesthetic faculties to a remarkable degree. In later life, he could distinguish, at sight, the hands of different painters on the same or different canvases or in the same portrait. Under his encouragement Indian painting reached its high water mark.[9] The picture galleries at Lahore representing the imperial family, and the nobility, would have ranked among the finest in the world.[10]

Painting continued to flourish in the time of Shah Jahan, but he was more fond of architecture than of painting. This, together with the sensuousness of his taste, led to a certain decadence in pictorial art. The paintings of his time are characterised by graphic colouring and ornamental borders. During the reign of Aurangzeb, who was antipathetic to all forms of art, painting still continued to subsist, though it did not flourish, as the Mughal nobles and the Hindu rulers, in spite of the lack of royal encouragement, continued to patronise it. "The art of painting of the Great Mughals was full of softness and sentiment for chivalry and romance — scenes of love-making, Laila and Majnu, Shirin and Farhad, youths and maidens dallying in gardens by the side of a stream, of gorgeous reception of foreign embassies in royal courts, of feasts and festive functions, where wine passed freely round, where dainty dishes were served and where tooth-some viands were spread in abundance — are depicted equally well and in plenty. Then like every age of romance, conquest and mystery, this age was greatly interested in the supernatural and the marvellous. Genii, goblins, monsters and fairies moved amidst men as common well-known, familiar figures. They were the stock-in-trade of the story-teller and the painter."[11]

SCULPTURE

Following the example of the Iranian kings, the Great Mughals sought the aid of the sculptor's art for the beautification of their buildings, and palaces. The Great Mughals, however, patronized ivory carving and, as the miniatures in ivory were prized by them, this art reached perfection during their rule. Other crafts, such as ornamental pottery and metal work, were also highly developed all over northern India. Ornamental brassware, silver, gold and

other metal vessels, with inlay work (Koft-gari), were turned out on a large scale. Bidri pots were also manufactured and so too were dainty carved vessels, brass toys, embossed shields decorated with figures of heroes and heroins, vases on salvers with engraved signs of the Zodiac, metal trays in high relief, perforated and embossed lamps, water pots. The Sarai of Nur Jahan erected at Nur Mahal in Jullundur District, the details of which are given later in this chapter, is remarkable for its exquisitely sculptured front.[12]

GARDENING

The Great Mughals were also great in the laying of gardens. When they consolidated their power, they patronized with zest the art of gardening. Akbar followed the example of his ancestors and laid out beautiful gardens. Jahangir was the greatest among all the Great Mughals in this respect. "His principal delight was in the laying out of large formal gardens, the romantic beauty of which has contributed a lot to the aesthetic reputation of the Mughal dynasty. Through Jahangir's love of nature, inherited from his progenitor, Babar, the Mughal garden was brought to perfection and at all places where this Emperor sojourned for any length of time one of these pleasances was generally prepared."[13]

Though Shah Jahan's aesthetic fancy mainly centred round architecture, he was no less interested in gardens, which were indispensable for the ornamentation of his beautiful buildings. Aurangzeb, who denied himself many other pleasures, had no particular fondness for gardens also. The later Mughals were even more devoted to gardening and other fine arts than their predecessors.[14]

With high-walled enclosures, redolent with fragrant flowers, gaily plumaged birds, a captive stream running through the garden in rhythmic harmony, arching trees sheltering the spring flowers, a tank in the middle reflecting the flowers-beds and the scenes around it on its transparent surface, the charming nightingales chirping and wooing the fully bloomed roses, and decently dressed Hurs[15] and Ghilmans[16] moving about the legendary paradise, an enchanting setting was created, replete with rare beauty and loveliness.[17]

The love of gardening displayed by the Mughal Emperors had an enduring impression on the taste of the people of the Panjāb—Hindus and Muslims alike. But, unfortunately, most of these resplendent gardens, where the nightingales (Bulbuls) sang so sweetly, are now lying in ruins or are given over to cultivation, while a good many others have died out for want of care. Yet there is enough in the remnants to indicate the tastes of their founders and the beauty that surrounded them.

In the following pages, efforts have been made to describe in detail the achievements of the Great Mughals, in the field of art, architecture, painting, sculpture, gardening and the building of towns. All these works are stated Emperor-wise, so that clear idea may be formed about their development chronologically.

BABAR

Kanaud (Mohindergarh). Kanaud was refounded by Malik Mahdud Khan, a servant of Babar. Before that it was said to have been inhabited by Brahmans of the Kanaudia group, from whom it derived its name. It remained a Pargana of the Sarkar of Narnaul under the Mughal Emperors.[18]

Garden of Mirza Kamran (Lahore). This garden was founded by Mirza Kamran, in 1530, when he was the governor of the province. The structure is made of solid masonary and its appearance on the banks of the river Ravi is imposing and picturesque. The Baradari of Mirza Kamran was built in this garden, which was one of the earliest to be laid-out in India by the Mughals. The Ravi then flowed at a distance of two miles from its present course. The paintings in gorgeous colours beneath the arches are still to be seen, as also the marks of old paths in the garden.[19]

Nau-Lakha (Lahore). Prince Kamran, the younger brother of Hamayun, seems to have given, when he was governor of the Panjāb,[20] the first impetus to the architectural embellishment of Lahore by building a palace and garden near the suburb of Nau-Lakha and afterwards extending the same to the river Ravi. A Baradari, also said to have been built by this Prince, is the oldest monument of Mughal architecture in Lahore. It was used for many years as a toll house at the old bridge of boats on the Ravi, and since 1947 is a protected monument in charge of the Archaeological Department.[21]

Chabutra Fateh Mubarik (Karnal). After the battle of Panipat, Babar erected a mosque with a garden and a tank. Some years later, when Humayun defeated Salim Shah, some four miles north of Panipat, he added a masonary and called it Chabutra Fateh Mubarik. These buildings and the garden still exist under the name of Kabul or Kabli Bagh. The building bears an inscription engraved therein : "Bina Rabi-ul-Awwal 934 Hij."[22] Babar had a wife called Kabuli Begum and Sir E. Colebrooke says, "Her name might possibly be derived from the name of species of myrobalan."[23]

HUMAYUN

Hatur. There is one tomb of Rai Ferozewala, near the village of Hatur or Arhatpur, 34 miles south-west of Ludhiana, which, it is said, was built in the times of Humayun. The heirs of Feroze

had been living in these villages till the partition of the Panjāb in 1947, when almost all the Muslims left East Panjāb and migrated to West Panjāb[24] (Pakistan). Other old buildings of historical value in this village are the Azmat Khanwali Masjid, which was built by Azmat Khan during the time of Shah Jahan; the Nikka-mal-Wala Math, one mile north-west of the village, and a brick mosque, both built in the reign of Akbar.[25]

Mehm (Rohtak). The Jama Masjid at Mehm, in Rohtak District, was built in 1531 by Begum Sultan, who lived in the time of Humayun and is traditionally said to have been one of his wives.[26]

Jhelum. The present town of Jhelum, 103 miles from Lahore, is of modern origin. The old town of Jhelum was on the left bank of the river, and the remains of that are still extant. About the year 1532, some boatmen from old Jhelum established themselves on the right bank for the better management of the ferry and, thus, founded the modern town. The settlement gradually grew in size and was found, at the time of annexation of the Panjāb, in 1849, by the British, to contain some five hundred houses.

THE SURS

Rohtas (Jhelum). About ten miles north-west of Jhelum and three miles south-west of Dina railway station, is situated the great fort of Rohtas. After the expulsion of Humayun in 1542, the Emperor Sher Shah Sur found it desirable to take measures against the return of the exiled Mughal Emperor and for the purpose of over-awing the warlike and powerful Gakhars. He, therefore, selected this spot, where the fort could command the entrance to the Kuhan pass, and it was to be named after the fort of Rohtas in Bengal. The Gakhars did all they could to discourage and prevent the erection of this fort, and for a time it was found difficult to attract labour. Hence an Ashrafi (gold coin) was paid to each of those engaged in laying stone; eventually the work was completed in 1543.[27]

This formidable fort has a circumference of about two and a half miles, and, in addition, a dividing wall about one third of a mile long. The walls are in many places thirty feet thick at their base and from thirty to fifty feet high. There are sixty-eight towers or bastions and twelve gateways, and the walls are everywhere pierced for musketry or archery, and here and there for cannon in the parapets. Near the gateways are machicolations, from which molten lead could be poured on attacking troops. The fort has never stood a serious siege, and, even in medieval warfare, would not have been able to hold a large army; for, some of the gates are not only easy of access, but are also mal-constructed. Many of the gateways are still imposing, the finest being the Sohal

Darwaza in front of Tilla, which is over seventy feet high; the balconies on the outer walls of this gate are stricking specimens of the work of the times. The best gateways after the Sohal Darwaza are the Khawas Khani, where the road from Jhelum enters the fort. The northern part of the fort is separated from the rest by an interior wall, much the same as those on the outside, so as to form a kind of citadel. Within it is a small high building of incongruous appearance, said to have been erected by Man Singh in the time of Akbar. The fort contained two walls with long flight of steps on the side giving access to water.[28]

Shergarh (Gujranwala). The old town, known as Saidpur, was destroyed by Sher Shah Sur in about 1542 and a new city Shergarh, the ruins of which are still visible, was founded about one and a half mile to the south-west of the present site. The Afghan garrison was expelled after a long siege by Amin Beg one of Humayun's generals, who under the orders of Akbar razed the old city and founded with its materials the existing one which has never been destroyed in the subsequent invasions.[29]

Ganjal and Handli (Shahpur). The only architectural remains in the plains of Shahpur District are of comparatively recent date. The construction of many of these buildings, such as the mosque at Bhera, the Wans (staircased walls) at Ganjal and Handli, and the remains of a massive masonary for the purpose of distributing the water of the stream, was undertaken during the reign of Sher Shah Sur.[30]

New Bhera (Shahpur). The new town of Bhera was founded in 1540 during the reign of Sher Shah, near a spot where a Muslim holy man of great spiritual repute, called Pir Kaya Nath, had for sometime resided and where his followers are still residing round the tomb of their spiritual father. Pilgrims come to pay homage from far and near.[31]

Sarai Khawaspur (Gujrat). The Sarai of Khawaspur was built in 1545[32] by Khawas Khan, who was a general of repute and the governor of the Panjāb during the reigns of Sher Shah and his son Islam Shah.[33]

Basi (Sirhind). Malik Haider Khan Umarazai founded this village in 1540. He was the Pathan Malik who is said to have settled here in the time of Sher Shah Sur. Basi was called Basti Malik Haider Khan in the times of the Mughals. It could not come into eminence, because only three miles distant was the old and strategic town of Sirhind, which was also the headquarters of the Suba of Sirhind during the regime of the Great Mughals.[34]

Narnaul. Narnaul is one of the most important towns in the Patiala Division. It was one of the Sarkars of the Suba of Agra under the Mughal Emperors. Ibrahim Khan, father of Sher Shah Sur, died here and his tomb still remains. This tomb represents the architecture of that time. In the reign of Akbar,

Shah Quli Mukram adorned the town with buildings and large tombs.[35]

AKBAR

Bahlolpur (Ludhiana). This village is situated in Samrala Tehsil near the bridge over the Budha Nala, twenty-seven miles from Ludhiana. It was founded in the reign of Akbar by two Afghans, Bahlol Khan and Bahadur Khan, whose descendants resided there until 1947. There is a tomb of Hasain Khan, a brick structure built in the time of Akbar, which is still in a fair condition. There are also the tombs of Nawab Bahadur Khan, Alawal Khan, Daud Khan, Kamal-ud-din and of some other important persons, which were all built during the time of Shah Jahan.[36]

Tihara (Ludhiana). One tomb, according to an inscription, was built in 978 A.H. (1570 A.D.), at Tihara in Ludhiana. The Maqbara of Shah Dewan, situated one mile west of the village of Tihara, is said to have been built in the time of Akbar. It was given a grant of 190 Bighas of land for sustenance. During his rebellion, Bairam Khan, while marching from Dipalpur to Jullundur, passed through Tihara, where Abdullah defeated a party of his friends under Wali Beg.[37]

Karnal. Masjid of Shaikh Tayub was built by himself, in the reign of Akbar, in the Karnal District; here the cupola is coated with enamel.[38]

Narnaul. At the shrine of Nizam Shah at Narnaul, there are two mosques; one was built by Akbar and the other by his son Jahangir.[39]

Hissar. The mosque and a tomb of Bahlol Shaki is about one mile east of Hissar on the Hansi Road. It was built in 1694 on the site of an old temple. The place is now called Dana-Sher. Sher Bahlol is said to have been a saint who had predicted to Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak that he would one day be a king.[40]

Fort of Attock. A fort was built by Akbar at Attock, in 1581, on his return from an expedition against his brother Mirza Hakim, the governor of Kabul, when the latter invaded the Panjāb, He gave it the name of Attock Banaras in contradistinction to that of Katak Banaras, the chief fort at the other extremity of his Empire.[41] It is a massive structure, built mostly for the purpose of defence of the frontier and is not of great architectural value. It is now in ruins.

Panja Sahib (Hasan Abdal). There are fine objects of architectural interest at Hasan Abdal, Attock District. It is known to the Sikhs as Panja Sahib, in consequence of the mark of the hand of Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, which is supposed to have been miraculously imprinted on the side

of one of the tanks of the Sikh temple in the city, where it is still to be seen.[42]

Wah (Attock). About two miles from Hasan Abdal, in the direction of Rawalpindi, there are the ruins of a Mughal Sarai, said to have been a halting place, built by the Emperor Akbar for use on his journeys to and from Kashmir. To the south of the Sarai, on the opposite bank of the Haro, is situated the garden of Wah, formerly a resting place of the Great Mughal Emperors on their way to the valley of Kashmir.[43]

Kharain (Gujrat). There are two very large wells at Kharain, in Gujrat District, which are said to have been built under the orders of Akbar by Fateh Ullah, son of Haji Habib Ullah, at a cost of 11,000 Akbari rupees. The work was completed in 1604. The inscription is still to be seen there.

Helan (Gujrat). There is a large tomb still in a very good order at Helan, District Gujrat. Slabs bearing inscriptions lead to the wells. There is also a tomb of Mirza Shaikh Ali Beg, an Amir of Emperor Akbar, which he built in 1587.

Chokandi (Gujrat). Chokandi was also built by Akbar in 1590; it was the first halting place, after crossing the Chenab, in the royal progress from Delhi to Kashmir.[44]

Jalalpur (Jhelum). It was in Akbar's time that a new name Jalalpur was adopted for Jhelum, in honour of the Emperor.[45]

Shaikh Alipur (Gujrat). Mirza Shaikh Ali Beg, an Amir of Emperor Akbar, who was killed in an encounter with the Gakhars, laid the foundation of a village close to Helan, still called after him, Shaikh Alipur. The village continues to be in the possession of Mughal descendents and the Shaikh's large tomb remains in a very good order.[46]

Kalanaur (Gurdaspur). In 1556 Akbar was installed as Emperor on a masonary platform at Kalanaur, sixteen miles west of Gurdaspur. The bricks from the dilapidated buildings were used as ballast for the Amritsar-Pathankot railway line. Four large wells and some small wells with groves of a few fine old mango trees are the only remains left of Akbar's courts and palaces.[47]

Batala (Gurdaspur). In 1567 Shamsher Khan, foster-brother of Akbar and the Krori of Batala, built a fine tank to the north-east of the town of Batala and planted gardens in the suburb as Anarkali, where his tomb still stands close to the tank which bears his name. The city was enriched with a bazaar and shops constructed in Aurangzeb's reign by Mirza Muhammad Khan who received the title of Wazir Khan. A Jama Masjid was erected by Qazi Abdul Haq, and a fine garden in three terraces was constructed by Amar Singh Qanungo. The tomb of Shuhab-ud-din Bukhari still stands there. Batala was given by the Emperor to his foster-brother, who neither left any stone unturned

nor was reluctant to incur the necessary expenses in improving the town.[48]

Mahatpur (Jullundur). Mahatpur, a village in Jullundur District, is of considerable antiquity, and is mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari under the name of Muhammadpur. It was refounded in the time of Akbar by Muhammad Khan, who was an Afghan horse dealer and considered the country to be suitable for rearing stock. Some architectural remains, though in ruins, are still to be seen there.[49]

Hariana (Hoshiarpur). There are two mosques in Hariana, Hoshiarpur District, the first is the Mufti's, and the second that of the Qazi. The former is a small one in the west of the town. Its spandrels are adorned with horses in stucco. It has an inscription which states that the mosque was built in the reign of Akbar (in 1597-98), by Haji Sambal Khan. The date is given in figures and in the chronogram.[50] The Qazi's mosque is a little larger and of somewhat later date and is without an inscription.[51]

In fact the new style of architecture under Akbar produced a profound effect on buildings all over the country, including those of the Rajput rulers of Rajasthan. The palaces built during the reign of Akbar at Amber, Bikaner, Jodhpur, and Daitia indicate unmistakable Mughal influence. Even Hindu temples could not escape the pervasive effect of Akbar's architecture. The Hindu temples at Vrindraban, for instance, show that some of their features were clearly borrowed from the contemporary style of the Mughals.

JAHANGIR

Khawabgah of Jahangir (Lahore City). It is a marble sleeping pavilion, which stood within a large quadrangle enclosed on three sides by a colonnade of red stone pillars, intricately carved with bracket capitals, consisting of the figures of peacocks, elephants and griffins. In the centre of the fourth side, which over-looked the Ravi, stood a pavilion in the Mughal style of architecture, and on either side at the point of contact of the colonnade with the outer wall were two chambers with verandahs of elaborately carved pillars supporting a sloping Chhaja in the Hindu style.[52]

Shahdra Gardens and Jahangir's Tomb (Lahore City). The Shahdra gardens owe their existence to the tomb of Jahangir raised by his devoted widow, Nur Jahan, in memory of her husband. The gardens probably grew up gradually around the tomb. The tomb itself is a very striking building and its four high minarets with their graceful cupolas of white marble are visible for miles round. The tomb is approached by four corridors leading from the garden, three of which are closed by perforated marble screens. The sarcophagus is of marble, decorated with coloured inlay. At the head is a Persian inscription "The illumined resting place

of His Majesty, the asylum of pardon, Nur-ud-din Jahangir Badshah."

Anarkali's Tomb (Lahore City). Anarkali, the title given to Nadira Begum or Sharif-il-Nisas, a favourite slave girl of Emperor Akbar, who, being suspected of the offence of returning a smile from Jahangir, his son, was buried alive. The edifice was erected by Jahangir in 1615.[53] It was once used as the station Church and Procathedral, and then the store house for the Secretariat records of the Panjāb. The marble tomb, which stood beneath the central dome, bears the following Persian inscription :—

> Ah ! Could I behold the face of my beloved once more
> I would give thanks unto my God unto the day of resurrection.

Moti Masjid (Lahore City). The most unpretentious but exquisite building inside the fort is the Moti Masjid (Pearl Mosque),[54] which was completed at a cost of three hundred thousand rupees during Jahangir's reign. It is an instance of supreme perfection of art combined with simplicity. Formerly, it was the private Chapel Royal of the ladies of the imperial harem.[55]

Pind Dadan Khan (Jhelum). Pind Dadan Khan was founded in 1623 by Dadan Khan, the head of the family of Khokhar Rajputs. Kot Sultan and Kot Sahib Khan were built subsequently by the chiefs of the same tribe.[56]

Pasrur (Sialkot). Pasrur, about 20 miles south of Sialkot, was once a place of considerable size and importance. Traces of its former prosperity remain in and about the town, amongst which is a large tank constructed during the reign of Jahangir. It is now fed by cutting down the Degh stream. A canal was built for the same purpose by Dara Shikoh. The remains of the canal and the bridge, which were built by Shah Daula, are still discernible on the Amritsar road. To the north of the town is the grave known as Mehra Manga-di-Mar. It is held in much esteem by the Bajwa Jats of the district.[57]

Pindori (Gurdaspur). There is a temple constructed at Pindori, seven miles to the east of Gurdaspur, on the right bank of the river Beas, in the shape of a Muslim domed tomb. The place was much resorted to by the Mughals and the rulers of Kashmir and Kangra hills. There are thirteen Samadhis (tombs) representing thirteen Gaddis (thrones). A copper plate, on which are inscribed the terms of the grant of pasture by the Emperor Jahangir, is still preserved at the shirne.[58]

Sadhaura (Ambala). Two old gateways of Sadhaura, built of red bricks in 1628, according to an inscription stone inserted into one of the arches,[59] have withstood the ravages of time.

Bastis (Jullundur). Basti Danishmandan, originally Ibrahimpur, was founded by Ansari Shaikhs from Kani in 1606. Basti

Shaikh Darvesh, originally Surajabad, was founded by Shaikh Darvesh, also an Ansari from Mani Kuram, in 1614. Basti Ghazan was founded in the reign of Shah Jahan by Baraki Pathans of the Ghas sect, who are the disciples of Shaikh Darvesh. Basti Baba Khel, originally called Babarpur, was founded in 1620-21 by Barakzai Pathans of the Baba Khel Clan. In Basti Shaikh Darvesh there are the mosque and tomb of Shaikh Darvesh, which were built in the Pathan style, and two temples and a tank, known as Dhab Balia Hasi Das, which were built in 1703.

Kartarpur (Jullundur). Kartarpur, forty miles from Amritsar and nine miles from Jullundur City, is situated on the Grand Trunk Road. It was built in 1588 by Guru Arjan. The site was granted to his father Guru Ram Das by Emperor Jahangir.[60]

Nikodar (Jullundur). Nikodar possesses two fine Muslim tombs, which are situated close to each other amongst some very fine old trees, the remains of a former garden. One of the tombs was built in 1612 during the reign of Jahangir and the other in 1657 about the close of Shah Jahan's reign. The former is popularly known as the tomb of the Ustad (teacher) and the latter as that of his pupil. Both are ornamented on the outside with various patterns in glazed tiles, but the work is not so good as that of the best examples at Agra and Lahore. Though similar in external decoration and in general style they are quite different in their designs.

There is a short one-line inscription over the entrance doorway on the south, which is repeated on the north side, indicating the date 1021 A.H. (1612 A.D.). There is also a Baradari, in which is situated the shrine of Bahadur Khan who died in the reign of Jahangir.[61]

Nur Mahal (Jullundur). The modern town of Nur Mahal in District Jullundur commemorates the memory of Nur Jahan, the spouse of the Emperor Jahangir, who is said to have been brought up here. She had the imperial Sarai constructed and inhabited by numerous families in her new town. The Sarai is 551 feet square outside, including the octagonal tower at the corner. The western gateway is a double-storeyed building embellished on the outside with red sand stone from the Fatehpur Sikri quarries. The whole front is divided into panels ornamented with sculpture; the relief is fine, but the workmanship coarse. There are angels and fairies, elephants and rhinoceroses, camels and horses, monkeys and peacocks, with men on horse-back and archers on elephants. The sides of the gateway are in much better style, the ornamentation being limited to filigreed scroll work with birds sitting on the branches. But even in this the design is much better than the execution, as there is little relief. On the entrance there is a long inscription. There was also a

similar gateway on the western side, but this is now only a mass of ruin and all the stone facade has disappeared.[62]

On the northern side of the courtyard there are thirty-two rooms with a varandah in front. In each corner there were three rooms, one large and two small; Jahangir's apartment formed the central block of the southern side, three storeys in height. The rooms were well-designed, but all their charm is not clearly discernible under the white-wash. The main room was oblong in shape with a half-octagen recess on two sides, similar to the large rooms in the corners of the Sarai.

The Sarai is said to have been built by Zakariya Khan,[63] the Nazim of the Suba of Jullundur, during the reign of Jahangir. It was erected by the order of Nur Jahan. The inscription over the eastern gateway gives the date of erection 1028 A.H. (1619 A.D.).[64] It is remarkable for its exquisitely sculptured front.

Buria (Ambala). There are the ruins of a Mughal palace called the Rang Mahal near Buria. It is said that Emperor Jahangir used to halt here on his way to his favourite hunting ground at Kalesar. Buria itself is said to have been the birth-place of Birbal who was one of Akbar's ministers.[65]

Sirhind (Patiala). There was a garden of Khawaja Wais at Sirhind, situated on the Grand Trunk Road, 28 miles north of Ambala. The Khawaja distinguished himself for his skill in architecture and for his taste in laying the foundations of gardens and ornamented grounds. "I found myself immediately in a covered avenue planted on each side with scarlet roses, and beyond them arose groves of cypress, fir, palms and ever-greens, variously disposed. We entered the garden, which now exhibited a variegated pattern, ornamented with flowers of the utmost brilliancy of colours and of the choicest kind."[66] In the midst of this open pattern was an inviting preservoir of water, and in the centre of this piece of water was an elegant and lofty octagonal pavillion, capacious enough to accommodate two hundred persons with convenient sitting room, and surrounded by a beautiful colonnade of trees. It was, moreover, two-storeys high and figures alluring to the eye were painted round it. The reservoir was environed with hewn stones and nearly two thousand water fowls supported on its bosom. Under the Mughal sovereigns, this city was one of the most flourishing cities of the empire. It is said to have three hundred and sixty mosques, tombs, Sarais and wells.

Banur (Patiala). The ruins that surround Banur, nine miles north-east of Rajpura, testify to its former importance. Its ancient name is said to have been Pushpawati, the city of flowers. The town became a Mahal of Sirhind under the Mughal government during the time of Akbar. There is a well known by the name of Banno Chhimban (washer-woman), a famous musician, who lived in the time of Jahangir. Chhat, seven miles east of

Banur, is another ancient village, closely connected with it. The ruins of old buildings, still to be seen, show that Chhat must have been one of the suburbs of Banur. There are a good many Muslim tombs. It contains an old fort also.[67]

Phul (Bhatinda). The historic town of Phul, District Bhatinda, was founded by Baba Phul in 1627 and is the ancestral home of the former rulers of the Phulkian States of Patiala, Nabha and Jind. There is a Kacha fort and the shrine of Baba Phul.

SHAH JAHAN

Hathi Paon Gateway (Lahore). Returning to the fort entrance and then to the left, one passes under a second gateway of marble called the Hathi Paon. The entrance to the harem formerly was to the left, a staircase of broad steps now destroyed. It was built in 1631. Shah Jahan ordered a tower to be erected which, in height should be beyond measurement and conception, reaching unto the very Heavens! In beauty, loftiness and excellence, such a tower never has been and never will be seen under the sky[68] anywhere else. The road to the right by which the fort is now reached is the work of the British.[69]

Dewan-i-Am (Lahore). In the centre of the fort is the Takht of Shah Jahan, built of red sandstone, which is the only existing example of its kind. In this Dewan-i-Am (Hall of Audience) the Emperor daily sat in state and, as he took his seat, the musicians stationed in the Niqar Khana[70] opposite struck up a martial strain, while a glittering pageant of men, horses and elephants passed in review before Shah Jahan. It is remarkable for the Hindu character of its details, especially pillars of the red stone consoles supporting the caves, which are in the form of elephants and other conventional animals, precisely similar to those to be found in the Hindu temples.[71]

Arz Begi (Lahore). In the enclosure of the fort and palace of Lahore there is a ruined building on arches immediately beneath a marble pavilion with performated lattice work. This was the Arz Begi,[72] where the nobles of the court assembled in the morning to receive the emperor's commands.[73]

Khawabgah of Shah Jahan (Lahore). The Khawabgah of Shah Jahan is an elegant little pavilion of marble arches and open lattice work immediately over the Arz Begi mentioned above. In this pavilion, protected by curtains hanging from rings in the walls, the Emperor slept, and on rising showed himself at the marble windows to the nobles gathered below. The upper frieze is an inlay of cornelian, etc., and gracefully designed.[74]

Shish Mahal[75] (Lahore). The Shish Mahal is a much more striking object with the iridescent sheen to its myriad fragments of looking glass of different colours set in arabesque, and patterns of white cement at once attracted the visitor's attention. This

is the work of both Shah Jahan and his son Aurangzeb. The artistic execution of the Shish (mirror) work, though brilliant, narrowly escapes the charge of vulgarity, especially when contrasted with the marble inlay of the Nau Lakha and of the spandrels of the marble arches on the inner side of the Shish Mahal. In the small rooms leading to the upper tower are fair specimens of the wooden ceiling made in geometrical patterns, gaily painted and gilded, which produce a remarkable effect of intricacy and richness. The principle on which their elaborately panelled ceilings are constructed is of the same pattern which was adopted in similar work at Cairo.[76]

Wazir Khan's Mosque (Lahore). The mosque of Wazir Khan was built in 1634 by Hakim Alim-ud-din, a Pathan of Chiniot,[77] who rose to the position of Wazir in the reign of Shah Jahan. It is remarkable for the profusion and excellence of the inlaid pottery decorations in the panelling of the walls. Its origin is mainfestly Persian, and the descendants of the draftsmen employed for the purpose are priding themselves even now on their Persian origin. In these[78] arabesques each leaf and each detached portion of the white ground is a separate piece of pot or tile, and the work is strictly inlay and not painted decoration. The panels of pottery are set in hard mortar. In the mosque itself are some very good specimens of Perso-Indian arabesque paintings on the smooth lime walls. This work, which is very freely painted and good in style, is true fresco painting, the buono fresco of the Italians and, like the inlaid, ceramic work, is now no longer in vogue, modern decoration being usually fresco or mere distemper painting. Though its builder was a native of the Panjāb, the style of this structure is more Perso-Mughal and less Indian than that of any other building in the city. Two chronograms inscribed on the walls give the date of the foundation of the mosque.[79]

Shalimar Gardens (Lahore). Shalimar Gardens were laid out in 1647 by the order of the Emperor Shah Jahan. Ali Mardan Khan and Nawab Fazl Khan were commanded to build for the Emperor a garden like that of paradise. They accordingly laid out the garden in seven divisions, symbolic of seven stages of the paradise of Islamic conception. Of these four have been destroyed and three only are included in the present area, which covers about thirty-nine acres. The garden itself has the stately formality and symmetry usual in the east. The parallelogram bounding the whole area is sub-divided into squares and in the centre is a reservoir bordered by an elaborately indented coping and studded with pipes for *jets d'eau.* A cascade falls into it on a slab of marble corrugated in an ornamental manner carved deeper.

Roshan Ara, Shah Jahan's daughter, was a poetess and had a great love for the flowers and the fall of water in the gardens. She had a special attachment to the Shalimar Gardens[80] of Lahore

and drew her inspiration from the picturesque scenery presented by the fascinating waterfall (Abshar) at the centre of the gardens. One day the princess was enjoying the sight of the sparkling water of this cascade descending on the slope of marble, forming an artificial fall, and was all ear to the sound so produced, when the following verses came to her lips spontaneously :

"Ai abshar nauhagar az bahr-i-kisti
Sar dar nigun figanda ze andoh-i-kisti
Aya chi dard bud ki chun ma tamam shab
Sar ra ba sang mizadi-o-migiristi."[81]

"Whose absence, O Waterfall are thou lamenting so loudly?
Why acute was thy pain that throughout the night,
Restless, like me, thou wast striking thy head
against the stone and shedding tears profusely?"

Chauburji (Lahore). At the end of the old Mall, on the right side of the Multan Road, is the fine gateway, commonly called the Chauburji, once the entrance into the garden of Zabida Begum, one of the daughters of Shah Jahan and an authoress who, in her shady retreat on the banks of the Ravi, composed a volume of mystical poems (Dewan-i-Makhti),[82] which are still read and admired.

Dhanukal (Gujranwala). The house of the great saint Sakhi Sarwar, at Dhanukal, District Gujranwala, was turned into a mosque in the time of Shah Jahan. The well attached to it was also much improved and beautified.[83]

Daska (Sialkot). It is said to have been founded during the reign of Shah Jahan, according to the papers in the possession of the Qanungos of the town, and originally named Shah Jahanabad. During the later Afghan invasions it seems to have been depopulated, its inhabitants taking shelter in the mud fort of Kot Daska.[84]

Dipalpur (Montgomery). The important buildings in the very old town of Dipalpur are the temples[85] of Lalu Jas Raj, where an annual fair is held in the month of February. There is an old mosque, built in the time of Khan Khanan, Wazir of Shah Jahan, and a tomb of Imam Shah, where also an annual fair is held. It is said that Hazrat Behawal Shah himself built a mosque and a Hujra, and the town was given the name of Hujra Shah Mukim because of its being the birth-place of Hazrat Shah Mukim.[86]

Shah Nahar (Gurdaspur). The celebrated engineer Ali Mardan Khan, in accordance with the instructions of Emperor Shah Jahan, started, in 1639, the construction of Shah Nahar, in Gurdaspur District, to carry the waters to the Shalimar Gardens near Lahore. Alal-ul-Mulk or Fazl Khan remodelled and completed the work within this district.

Siri Hargobindpur (Gurdaspur). Siri Hargobindpur, 18 miles north-west of Batala on the right bank of the Beas, was refounded by the sixth Sikh Guru Hargobind. It was formerly known as Rahila,[87] a word which was considered most unlucky to be pro-

nounced in the early morning, owing to the curse of the Gurus to the effect that those who do so should have no wife nor family. It ranks next to Amritsar as a place of sanctity and pilgrimage to the Sikhs.[88]

Phillaur (Jullundur). The modern town of Phillaur, situated on the right bank of the Satlej, dates from the time of Shah Jahan, when the site, then covered with ruins, was re-occupied, having been selected for the erection of a Sarai on the imperial route from Delhi to Lahore.[89]

Rahon (Jullundur). There is an old Sarai here which, as is asserted, was built in the reign of Shah Jahan (1627-58). There are 39 mosques and 24 temples which were built during the Mughal period.[90]

Dakhani Sarai (Jullundur). Dakhani Sarai, five miles from Nikodar, is an old Sarai built by Shah Jahan and had been used as a leper asylum. The style is Muslim of the late Mughal period. The interior surfaces of the gateways are covered with brilliant tile work of the mosaic class.

Phagwara. The town Phagwara, which is situated 13 miles south-east of Jullundur, was founded in the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan.[91]

Rahaun (Ludhiana). A mosque of brick was built at Rahaun, about two miles from Khanna railway station to the east, in the reign of Shah Jahan, which still stands there.[92]

Bassi (Sirhind). At Bassi (Sirhind) is the shrine of Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani, a descendant of Shahab-ud-din Farukh Shah Alfaruqi, the Kabuli, who came to India from Kabul. The family first settled in Sunam, but Imam Rafi-ud-din took up his abode in Sirhind in the time of Firoz. Mujaddid, his descendant in the sixth generation, was born there in 1563. He was a disciple of Baqi Billa of Delhi and founded the Naqshbandi Mujaddadia order in India, introducing the practice of Zik-i-khafi or silent prayer. He wrote many religious works of which the Maktubat is the most important. He died at Sirhind in 1617, at the age of sixty-four. His tomb is the principle shrine of the Naqshbandis in India, and is a beautiful structure, built in the reign of Shah Jahan. The Urs is held on the 27th of Safar and is the occasion of a considerable gathering. Pilgrims from Kabul visit this shrine. The Naqshbandis absolutely forbid music and singing but they are said to advocate the use of fineclothes and luxurious, food.[93]

Kotla (Malerkotla). The ancestors of the reigning family of this Muslim town came from Kabul and held high offices in Sirhind under the Great Mughal Emperors. Bayazid Khan, the fifth in descent from Sadr-ud-din, founded Kotla in 1656. The name of Kotla is said to be derived from the Kot (fort) or wall which was built round the town[94] in the said year.

Shahabad. The royal Sarai is one of the oldest buildings in the town of Shahabad, in Karnal District. It was constructed earlier, but was protected, in the time of Shah Jahan, by a fortified wall built in a style which reminds us of the Red Fort at Delhi. It comprised the residence of certain Mughal officials; but it is most probable that the Sarai also was connected to the main road leading to Delhi, which passed through it.[95]

AURANGZEB

Jama Mosque (Lahore). The Jama Masjid is the most striking building in Lahore and its white domes and lofty towers may be seen from miles around.[96] The gateway opens on a large quadrangle paved with bricks and over-shadowed by two rows of pipal trees. The absence of side entrances and the position of the minarets at the four corners of the quadrangle give to the building a very grim appearance, and we miss the graceful symmetry which is so pleasing in the Delhi mosque. There is moreover, a defective style, the connades at the side are plain in the extreme and minars divested of their cupolas which were so shattered in the earthquake of 1840. The flight of steps is paved with a beautiful variegated stone from Kabul hills known as Abri. This stone is also found in the Kowaget hills in the Rawalpindi District, and was favourite material with Muhammadan buildings for inlaid floors.[97]

Samman Burj and Nau Lakha (Lahore). There is only one part of the Lahore Fort and palace which had not been put to some practical modern use. This is the Samman Burj.[98] Although it does not merit the extravagant eulogy of the inscription, an examination of its parts will be found interesting. There is a small, though costly, marble pavilion, inlaid with flowers, wrought in precious stones and known by the significant name of Nau Lakha or the building which cost nine lakhs. This delicate and beautiful work belongs to the time of Aurangzeb, and it is distinguished from other architectural forms near it by the curvilinear roof. The inlay, much of which has unfortunately been destroyed, is remarkable for its excessive minuteness and artistic skill.[99]

Margalla (Rawalpindi). At Margalla in Rawalpindi District, there is an old cutting through the hill on the Lahore-Peshawar road. The roadway is paved with flags of stone, while a stone slab inserted in the wall on the side. It contains an inscription which shows that the work was completed in 1672, about the time Aurangzeb marched to Hassan Abdal and sent his son Prince Sultan with an army against the Khattaks and other trans-Indus tribes. The pavement was no doubt a remarkale achievement in those days.[100]

Naurangabad (Gujrat). The Sarai of Naurangabad, in Gujrat

District, was built by the Emperor Aurangzeb, who gave his title of Alamgir to it.[101]

Maghiana (Jhang). The present town of Maghiana, fifty-six miles north-west of Chechawatni, was founded in 1688, during the reign of Aurangzeb, by a Sanyasi Faqir, Lal Nath, the thirteenth descendant of Shiv Sant Kumar, who dwelt in the Nath Sahib in the centre of the town.[102]

Sarai Lashkari Khan (Ludhiana). Sarai Lashkari Khan, Ludhiana District, eight miles west of Khanna on the Grand Trunk Road, is similar to that at Khanna and was built in the time of Aurangzeb. The interior of the Sarai is now used for cultivation.[103]

Anandpur (Hoshiarpur). About fifty miles from Hoshiarpur is the sacred Sikh town of Anandpur, the abode of bliss, founded by Guru Gobind Singh in 1678. It is situated at the foot of the Naina Devi Peak on the left bank of the Satlej.

Guru Ka Mahal was built about the year 1665, when the town of Anandpur was founded. There is an underground cell named Bhora Sahib. The Gurdwara of Keshgarh was also built in 1699. The Gurdwara Anandgarh, Damdama Sahib, Manji Sahib, Tilla Lohgarh (stronghold of the tenth Sikh Guru), Harmandir Sahib, Shish Mahal, Takhat Sahib, Patalpuri, Khangah Budhan Shah (a Muhammadan saint), and the Samadhi of Baba Gurditta are the important architectural places built during the Mughal rule.[104]

Sultanpur (Kapurthala). It is situated at a distance of sixteen miles to the south of Kapurthala. It was founded, according to tradition, by Sultan Khan Lodi, a general of Mahmud of Ghazni. The ruins of five huge old bridges over the Bein stream are said to have been constructed in the time of Sher Shah, and still survive the ravages of time. A little down the stream is a second handsome bridge built in the time of Aurangzeb, which is still in a good condition. There is also a fine Sarai, erected about the same period, which is now used as the Tehsil building. Several buildings of no architectural interest are connected with Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion.[105]

Jaijon (Hoshiarpur). Raja Ram Singh, who began to reside at Jaijon, had constructed the fort in 1701. This place commanded the pass in the hills of Shivalik.[106]

Bahadurgarh (Patiala). The village Saifabad, four miles from Patiala, in which the fort (of Bahadurgarh) is situated, took its name from Saif Khan, brother of Nawab Fidal Khan, who founded it in the time of Emperor Aurangzeb. The date of founding the village is given by Shaikh Naser Ali Sirhindi, a popular poet of that time, in an inscription on the inner gate of the fort.[107] The mosque in front of the palace was built by Saif Khan, in

1077 A.H. (1688 A.D.), as is denoted in the inscription on the doorway of the mosque.[108]

Panjaur (Patiala). Fidai Khan, foster brother of Aurangzeb, turned out the Hindu Raja of Nahan in 1661 and established his own residence at Panjaur, a small village about three miles south of Kalka and fifteen miles north of Chandigarh. He was a man of great skill and architectural taste. He laid out a beautiful terraced garden in imitation of the Shalimar Garden of Lahore and built magnificent mansions, the glory of which is still discernible. He dug a canal at the foot of the neighbouring hill and led it to the garden to irrigate its numerous grass plants and flower-beds and to feed its springs, which added to the grandeur of the place. The garden was known for its red roses. According to Sujan Rai there was at Panjaur, towards the end of the 17th century, an old Hindu temple of great sanctity, known as Bhima Devi, which is no more there now.[109]

Hadiya (Barnala). This town contains a Gurdwara (Sikh temple) of Guru Tegh Bahadur and a large tank at which a big fair is held in April.

After the death of Aurangzeb, the style completely deteriorated and the buildings that were erected during the first half of the 18th century reveal a degeneration of taste and artless design.

Art and architecture reached its zenith during the Mughal period. It was not a Minerva-like creation, but was a continuous development of art .and architecture, which culminated during the reign of Shah Jahan, who was a great patron of art and architecture. During his reign many buildings were constructed, in the structure of which is clearly descernible the elegant decoration and effeminacy, which are to be distinguished from the simple austerity of the Turkish buildings. The seeds of the real progress of art were sown when Babar, who was a great lover of art, came to India; but he had neither the time nor resources to develop art and architecture. Humayun, who always lived in the opium-eater's paradise, was devoid of aesthetic taste. Akbar began to patronise it. The simplicity of the buildings erected in the reign of Akbar, who was the first Mughal Emperor to patronise art and architecture, is to be distinguished from the profuse embellishment and grace of the buildings of Shah Jahan's reign during which art reached the climax. After Shah Jahan there was a process of decline, because Aurangzeb was too austere and abstuse to imbibe the aesthetic sense. An account of the important roads and routes, during the Great Mughals, is given in Appendix D.

NOTES

1. *History of India*, Vol. IV — Elliot and Dowson, pp. 523, 524.
   In his Memoirs, Babar bitterly complained of the ugliness of the cities of Hindustan.
2. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 525.
3. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* — Fergusson, pp. 572, 573.
4. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 549.
5. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* — Fergusson, p. 286.
   History of Fine Arts — V. A. Smith, pp. 172-80.
6. *Indian Architecture* — Havell, Chapter VI.
7. *Shah Jahan* — Saxena, pp. 261, 262.
8. *Akbar the Great* — Smith (1962), pp. 310-13.
9. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I — R&B, p. 228.
   J.A.S.B., 1870, pp. 170-79.
10. *Purchas*, Vol. IV — William Finch, pp. 53-55.
11. *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture* — Tara Chand, pp. 266, 267.
12. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* — Fergusson, pp. 573-80.
13. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 548, 549.
14. *J.R.A.S.*, January 1936, pp. 237, 238.
15. Hurs, Virgins or Virgine of Paradise.
16. Ghilmans, Young lads.
17. *Gardens of the Great Mughals* — C. M. V. Stuart, pp. 132-34.
    J.R.A.S., January 1936, p. 238.
18. *Phulkian States Gazetteer*, p. 196.
19. *Lahore* — Muhammad Latif, p. 112.
20. *Tarikh-i-Afaghana*, Text — A. Yadgar, pp. 125, 126.
21. "All that remains of the palace is a large gateway now used as a private house in the vicinity of S. Lehna Singh's Chhauni". (*Lahore District Gazetteer*, p. 27.)
22. Foundation was laid in 1527 A.D. (*District Gazetteer Karnal*, p. 18.)
23. *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 13, p. 279.
24. *Ludhiana District Gazetteer*, p. 228.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Rohtak District Gazetteer*, p. 44.
27. *History of India*, Vol. II — Erskine, p. 426.
    Ma'asir-ul-Umera, Vol. II — Shah Nawaz, Text, p. 103.
28. *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani*, Vol. VI — Elliot and Dowson, pp. 114, 115.
29. *Gujranwala District Gazetteer*, p. 345.
    Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II — Blochman, p. 321.
30. *Shahpur District Gazetteer*, pp. 32, 37.
31. *Shahpur District Gazetteer*, p. 234.
    Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II — Blochman, p. 325.
32. The route to Kabul through the District of Gujrat has still the remains of the Sarais and Baolis (wells) erected by the Mughal Emperors.
33. *Gujrat District Gazetteer*, p. 15.
    Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II — Blochman, p. 300.
    Bhatner had a brick fort. *Ibid.*, p. 299.
34. *Phulkian States Gazetteer*, p. 188. Under Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal sovereigns, Sirhind was one of the most flourishing cities of the Empire, and the capital of the Suba of Sirhind.
35. *Phulkian States Gazetteer*, p. 197.
    Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 399-607.
36. *Ludhiana District Gazetteer*, p. 227.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 234, 241. It had a brick fort on the Satlej. There was 273,366 Bighas of land. (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Blochman, p. 300.)
38. *Karnal District Gazetteer*, p. 213.
39. *Phulkian States Gazetteer*, p. 81.

40. *Hissar District Gazetteer*, p. 316.
Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I — Blochman, pp. 32, 60.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 160n, 321, 440n.
Attock District Gazetteer, p. 367.
42. Its real name is Hasan Abdal, situated on the top of a steep hill; contains the shrine of a celebrated Muslim saint known as Wali Qandhari. (*The Land of the Five Tivers* — D. Ross, p. 176.)
43. *Gujrat District Gazetteer*, p. 15.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
45. *Jhelum District Gazetteer*, pp. 37, 38.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
47. *Gurdaspur District Gazetteer*, p. 15.
48. *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sind* — Ross, p. 202.
49. *Jullundur District Gazetteer*, pp. 291, 292.
50. 1006 A.H. (1597 A.D.)
51. *Hoshiarpur District Gazetteer*, p. 219.
52. *Lahore* — Muhammad Latif, pp. 104-06.
53. *Lahore* — Muhammad Latif, pp. 186, 187.
54. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* — Fergusson, pp. 317, 318.
55. *Lahore* — Muhammad Latif, p. 125.
56. *Jhelum District Gazetteer*, p. 278. Opposite Miani, on the right bank of the river Jhelum, is situated Pind Dadan Khan, the head-quarters of the Salt Department of West Pakistan.
57. *Sialkot District Gazetteer*, Appendix II.
The Land of the Five Rivers and Sind — Ross, p. 142.
58. *Gurdaspur District Gazetteer*, p. 16. Damtal is situated at four miles from Pathankot, on Pathankot-Mukerian Road.
59 *Ambala District Gazetteer*, p. 22.
60 *The Land of Five Rivers and Sind* — D. Ross, p. 210.
61 *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Blochman, p. 682.
62. Nur Mahal is built on the site of an ancient town, as it is testified by the large size of the bricks that had been dug up as well as by numerous coins found there. Nur Mahal is said to have been built on the site of a town called Kot Kalur or Kot Kahlur, which according to Mr. Berkley was a place of importance and is said to have been ruined about 700 A.H. (1300 A.D.).
63. Zakarya Khan seems to be an energetic man. The inscription consists of six short lines as shown below :—
"Taking payment from travellers is forbidden, the Nawab Zakarya Khan Bahadur, governor of the district, having exempted them. Should any Faujdar of the Doab collect these dues may his wives be divorced."
64. Inscription over the East Gate or Delhi Gate, and over the West or Lahori Gate.
65. *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. II — R&B, pp. 113, 220.
66. *Phulkian States Gazetteer*, p. 203.
67. *Phulkian States Gazetteer*, pp. 186, 192.
68. Persian inscription.
69. "The gate of the fort was called Hathi Paon or Elephant Foot Gate, because ladies of the Harem, when going out for an airing passed through it on their elephants". (*Lahore* — Muhammad Latif, p. 21.)
70. A band of music, the place at the porch of a palace where the drums are beaten at stated intervals.
71. *Travels in the Mughal Empire* — Burnier, pp. 383, 384.
Lahore — Muhammad Latif, pp. 123, 124.
72. Arz Begi or Usher or an introducer.
73. *Lahore* — Muhammad Latif, p. 125.
74. *Ibid.*
75. Palace of mirrors.
76. *Lahore* — Muhammad Latif, p. 126.

77. *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sind* — D. Ross, pp. 107, 108.
78. The local legend says that artists were sent for expressly from China to execute the work, but there is no historical evidence for this.
79. "Sajid gah-i-Ahl-Fazl and Banai Masjid Wazir Khan."
80. Shala means house (Sanskrit), and Mar means joy (Turki) — "House of Joy".
81. *J.R.A.S.*, January 10, 1936, p. 238.
82. *Lahore District Gazetteer*, p. 307.
83. The fair here used to be attended by ten thousand persons from all over adjouning districts of the Panjab and Jammu Kashmir State.
84. *Sialkot District Gazetteer*, p. 11.
85. Sixteen miles south of Okara stands Dipalpur, on the old high bank of the Beas. In the time of Akbar and his successors this was the chief town of the district yielding a revenue of over 32 lakhs. Babar after taking Lahore, marched and stormed Dipalpur in 1524. It was rebuilt by Mirza Abdur Rahim about 1599. (*The Land of the Five Rivers and Sind* — Ross, pp. 113, 114.)
86. *Montgomery District Gazetteer*, pp. 76, 77.
87. *Gurdaspur District Gazetteer* (1914), p. 16.
88. *Gurdaspur District Gazetteer*, p. 17.
89. *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sind* — Ross, p. 221.
90. *Jullundur District Gazetteer*, p. 304.
91. *Kapurthala State Gazetteer*, p. 44.
92. *Ludhiana District Gazetteer*, p. 239.
93. *Phulkian States Gazetteer*, pp. 79, 80.
94. *Malerkotla State Gazetteer*, p. 44.
    The Land of the Five Rivers and Sind — Ross, p. 225.
95. *Karnal District Gazetteer*, pp. 216, 217.
96. The inscription in front of the gateway shows that it was built in the year 1084 A.H. (1674 A.D.).
97. *Lahore District Gazetteer*, pp. 256-58.
98. 'Samman' is an abbreviation of the Arabic word Musamman meaning octagonal.
99. *Lahore* — Muhammad Latif, p. 126.
100. *Rawalpindi District Gazetteer*, p. 35.
101. It is improperly called the Sarai of Naurangabad, which is a village half a mile distant and altogether out of the Alamgir lands, which were granted to certain Kshatris to preserve the Sarai. But during the Sikh rule there was a cantonment at Naurangabad. (*Gujrat District Gazetteer*, p. 16.)
102. *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sind* — D. Ross, pp. 105, 106.
103. *Hissar District Gazetteer*, pp. 315, 316.
104. *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sind* — Ross, p. 213.
105. *Kapurthala State Gazetteer*, p. 45.
106. This fort was taken by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1815. (*Hoshiarpur District Gazetteer*, 1904, p. 224.)
107. "Abad namud Saif Khan Saifabad". 1067 A.H. (1658 A.D.).
108. Banie een Masjid amad Saif Khan.
109. *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* — Sujan Rai Bhandari (Zaffar Hussain), p. 35.
     The Land of the Five Rivers and Sind — D. Ross, p. 234.

CHAPTER XIV

CONCLUSION

Politically, the Panjāb has ever been the sword arm of India It has also been the main channel through which the fine and brave soldiery, recruited from beyond its frontiers, flowed into the Panjāb. Without a complete domination of this province, no Mughal Emperor could ever feel secure on the throne. Babar, the founder of the Mughal Empire of India, did not advance towards Delhi till he had fully established his hold over this province. After its conquest, he entrusted it to his most capable general Mir Yunis Ali, so that his eastward advance be secured against the North-West. The Panjāb was the base from where he supported his future exploits and eastward expansion.

Humayun did not realise the importance of the Panjāb, as is evident from the fact that he slept over the capture of this province by Mirza Kamran and he lost his hold on the Indian Empire within a decade. Had Mirza Kamran given this province to Humayun after the latters defeat at the hands of Sher Shah, Humayun would have retained at least a portion of the Indian Empire. The Sur kings also attached great importance to this province and took maximum defensive measures to keep it free of danger from the north-west. When anarchy returned and the defensive measures slackened, Humayun easily re-occupied it in 1556.

Akbar rightly understood the strategic importance of this region and made Lahore the capital of his empire for fifteen years (1585 to 1598). During this period he waged a ruthless war against the turbulent Afghan tribes. Akbar succeeded in restoring order in the North-West Frontier, on the strength of immense military power and resources. He also conquered Kashmir during this period. During Akbar's reign, this province remained an arena of revolts, Bairam Khan, Muhammad Hakim Mirza, the Garkhars, the Rajput Rajas of Nagarkot (Kangra) and Ibrahim Husain Mirza of Kashmir, one after the other revolted against Mughal authority. But all these revolts were crushed.

Akbar's death was followed by a war of succession. Jahangir's succession was disputed by his own son Khusrau. During this war, the people of the Panjāb suffered untold misery as it was the scene of fighting. Eventually Jahangir ascended the Mughal throne. Akbar had very cordial relations with the Sikhs, but, after suppressing Khusrau's revolt, Jahangir ordered the execution of Guru Arjan. This sowed the seed of a long drawn-out struggle by the Sikhs against the Mughals. Henceforward the Mughals could not but regard the Sikh organisation with more

or less hostility, as they felt that it may, at any time, become a rallying point of disaffection. For the Sikhs also there could be no reversion to a policy of peace with the Mughal Empire.

During Jahangir's reign, the Panjāb was governed by capable generals like Dilawar Khan, Murtza Khan and Sa'id Khan, who kept the frontier tribes in check. They did not allow the rebel Rajput Rajas of Kangra to raise their heads. Mahabat Khan's *coup de main* also ended in smoke during the last days of Jahangir. Jahangir visited the Panjāb almost every year, partly to have a personal check over his governors and partly because the Panjāb lay on the route to Kashmir, where he spent every summer.

After the death of Jahangir, the Panjāb was again set ablaze by a war of succession which ended in favour of Shah Jahan. At his accession, Shah Jahan realised that, with the loss of the province of Qandhar during the reign of Jahangir, the position on the North-West Frontier had been weakened. So he managed to recover the fortress of Kabul by diplomacy. Ali Mardan Khan, the Persian governor of Qandhar, surrendered the valuable fortress to Shah Jahan. In reward, he was made the governor of Kashmir, in addition to remaining in charge of the Panjāb. Shah Jahan kept the North-West Frontier, as well as the Rajput Rajas of Kangra, under check.

The Panjāb was once more to see a political upheaval when Shah Jahan fell ill in 1658. Though the arena of the war of succession this time lay outside the Panjāb, it had nevertheless to bear the brunt of Aurangzeb's fury, when he pursued hither the fleeing Prince Dara Shikoh. During his fifty years' reign, Aurangzeb paid little attention to this province, especially during his last twenty-five years, when he was engaged in the south. In the meantime, the Sikhs gained enough strength to be able to give a tough fight to the Mughal forces.

To conclude, the Panjāb was strategically the most important province of the Mughal Empire. The tribal region between Afghanistan and India, generally known as the North-West Frontier, formed part of the Mughal Empire, and its control was always held by the strong governors of this province, under the personal and immediate attention of the Great Mughals. Keeping this province the strongest was essential for the Great Mughals for the following reasons :

1. The Hindu-Koh Range, which separates Central Asia from Southern Afghanistan, Baluchistan and India, is very low in the north of Herat and permits a passage to an invader from Iran and Central Asia to the Kabul valley and thence to India.
2. It was equally necessary for securing possession of the impregnable fortress of Qandhar, the first outpost of

India's defence and a great centre of trade, frequented by merchants from various parts of Asia.

3. It was necessary to control the turbulent tribes, such as the Yusufzias, the Khattaks, the Muhamonds, the Uzbegs and others. For operations against these tribes, the Panjāb has ever been the base of the Indian and presumably now Pakistani forces.
4. The plain of Panipat in South-East Panjāb has been the scene of some of the most historic battles in Indian history. From the strategic background of Afghanistan, the path for invaders lay along the lines of least resistance, Khaiber, Kurram, Tochi and Gomal passes on to the Panjāb plains; for, the Indus has never proved an obstacle to an enterprising general, who may find the going rough on the south because of the deserts of Rajputana. Invading armies were forced to enter the Ganges and Januma valleys through the narrow bottleneck between the north-eastern extremity of the desert and the foot of the Himalayas.

The Mughals had a sound military administration, according to which three types of forces were maintained. Firstly, the contingents which every high official, Hindu or Muslim, from the governor downwards had to maintain, in accordance with his rank. This was a part of the regular standing army of the Mughal Empire, maintained for the general security of the realm. Secondly, the provincial army, which consisted of the contingents of minor Zamindars, who were called upon to render service at the time of war. The third group of local or provincial forces consisted of cavalry, infantry and other arms, mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari as the quotas allotted to Sarkars and Mahals, stationed under the Faujdars and petty Faujdars, details of which are given in Appendix C.

Cantonments were set up at strategic places, such as Attock, Lahore, Sialkot, Multan, Jammu, Nagarkot, Mau, Jaswan, Kahlur, Guler, Mankot, Jasrota, and Lakhanpur. The Mansabdars were granted military Jagirs in every corner of the province and they supplied contingents in the time of war. These Jagirdars had greatly helped the Mughal Emperors and eventually developed into petty chiefs. Apart from the Jagirdars, there were Faujdars of the forts, who maintained peace and order in their localities, kept the roads free from robbers and thieves, and enforced imperial regulations. They held a small force under them to perform police duties, to put down smaller rebellions, disperse or arrest robber gangs, take cognizance of all violent crimes, and make demonstrations of force to overcome opposition to the revenue authorities or the criminal judge or the censor.

The provincial civil administration was under the control of the governors called Subadars. We have a regular chain of the governors of Lahore, who were appointed from time to time (see Appendix A). Under the Subadar, there were officers such as Dewan, Bakhshi, Waqai Navis, Sadr, Qazi and Dewan-i-Bayutat. The province was further divided into a number of Sarkars or districts, each administrated by a Faujdar, an Amalgazar, a Qazi, a Kotwal, a Bitikchi, and a Khazandar, under the supervision of the provincial officers. Each Sarkar or district was divided into Parganas or Mahals, which were the lowest fiscal units. A Tehsildar was in charge of every Pargana and it was here that the land revenue was actually paid to the state. The administration at the Pargana level consisted of the Shiqdar, the Amil, the Fotdar and the Qanungo. The towns were under, the Kotwals. The lowest unit of administration was the village, the administration of which, as in other Indian provinces, was left to the people. But, in order to collect revenue and to report about the destructive elements in the villages, the Muqadams, the Patwaris and the Chaukidars were appointed by the government.

In the domain of revenue administration, the Mughals did a lot for the people. It was for the first time that the land was measured and classified. The cultivators were made the direct masters of their lands. They could sell, mortgage, or give away their lands in gift. Lands passed from father to son like all other properties. The State had an interest in the landed estates of a cultivator who ran away after defaulting in the payment of the revenue. The collections were made at Holi in spring and at Dassera in autumn. Reports of collection were sent by the recorder to the collector. Any damage to the crops by unforeseen factors was to be reported to the Emperor, who would then order necessary remission of land revenue.

The redress of individual grievances was the duty of the Emperors. For this purpose they held their courts personally and also maintained, at every level of the administration, judicial officers, known as the Qazi and the Mir-i-Adil. The punishments were very severe.

About the political activities of the people of the Panjāb, during the period under our study, it can be stated that there was always a trend towards independence against the foreign rulers, even though the indigenous population never thought of forming a united front for the liberation of their country. From time to time the Great Mughals had to face resistance from the Gakhars, the Gujars and the Jats. The Gakhar tribe, who occupied the hill plateau of the north-west Panjāb, were always very troublesome. Straddling across the gateway of India, this brave tribe directed the step and furnished recruits for the armies of

invader after invader. Later, they had swelled the area of their occupation to include the Districts of Rawalpindi, Jhelum and Hazara and along the plateaus at the foot of the lower Himalayas. But the main centres of their power were mostly in the Districts of Rawalpindi and Jhelum.

During the period of our study, they came in conflict with both the Afghan and the Mughal rulers. Hathi Gakhar of Pharawala (in Rawalpindi District) was the first native chief of the Panjāb who gave a tough fight to Babar. After this, the Gakhars remained on amicable terms with Babar and Humayun. But they fought a great deal with Sher Shah, capturing and selling a large number of Afghans. To keep this tribe in proper check, Sher Shah thought it imperative to build a stronghold to guard his North-West Frontier. A strong fort was built at Rohtas, on the road between Kabul and Delhi which could both be a formidable barrier against invasions from the north and a centre of military power against the Gakhars. Islam Shah had to take more steps to keep the Gakhars in check and erected a second line of defence, in the form of a chain of fortresses around Mankot, ninety miles east of Sialkot.

At the re-occupation of the Panjāb by Humayun, the Gakhars did not welcome Mughal rule. Akbar soon came into conflict with their leader Sultan Adam Khan who was defeated, captured and ultimately put to death.[1]

Other tribes of the province which played an important part in this period were the Jats and the Gujars. The Scythians, who retained their pastoral habits and for a long time continued to feed their cattle in the great prairies and jungles of the inter-riverain uplands[2] and the submontane area, acquired or retained the name of Gujar, the pastoral tribe. The buffets of fortune, paucity of numbers and the want of able leaders in troubled times affected the tribal character and morale of the Gujars, who were generally regarded as indolent, thriftless, turbulent but poor-spirited, except in the central submontane area around Gujrat, where they maintained a dominant position.

But the great mass of the tribe, which took more rapidly to agriculture, came to be called Jats, a name which may possibly be connected with the Latin Getae or Goths.[3] With every succeeding generation they got more absorbed in agriculture, and lost the wild freedom which had marked their Scythian ancestores. Agriculture made them individualists, impatient of tribal control, except where tribal ties helped them in their quarrels with others. But they were par excelence peasants of the province.

Guru Arjan converted most of the Jat peasantry of the Bari Doab tract; by the time of Guru Hargobind, the Jats formed the preponderant element in the Sikh community. So, in entering the ranks of Sikhism in ever-swelling numbers during the days

of the fifth and the sixth Gurus, they also largely contributed to the shaping of Sikhism into a militant body. Under the leadership of Guru Gobind Singh, when pitched battles began to be fought against the Mughal forces in the Panjāb, the Jat stock predominated and the Jats were then inspired by the notion of a kingdom of their own. The Jats, who were men of sturdy frame and stolid mien, could be very active in the fervour of religious dedication. The well-known saying, "Scratch the Sikh and you will find the Jat", seems to suggest that in him there was only a veneer of Sikhism and the substratum was all Jat. Their martial spirit received the fullest recognition by the tenth Guru.

During this period there were some feudatory states which were all situated in a barren and almost unproductive area in the Shivalik hills. For this reason, they enjoyed a measure of greater peace and security as compared with the rest of the Panjāb. Their advantagous position of being in a hilly country had kept them relatively safe from the Mughal governors of the province. Even when outsiders invaded and established themselves in the plains, these feudatory principalities were not very much interfered with. But, with the progress of Mughal ascendancy, all the hill states were compelled to bow to foreign yoke. A large portion of the rich valley of Kangra was annexed and a similar demand, proportionate to their areas, was made on the other states.

For nearly two hundred years from the time of their subjugation by Akbar, the hill chiefs remained tributary to the Mughal Empire but all accounts agree that the imperial authority sat very lightly on them. Their prerogatives were seldom questioned, and there was no interferance in their internal affairs. Indeed, throughout the period of Mughal supremacy, the chiefs seem to have received liberal and even generous treatment. They were left very much to themselves in the government of their principalities, and were allowed to exercise the functions and powers of independent rulers.

These hill states remained often at war with one another. When a strong ruler rose to power, the larger states subjugated or absorbed their smaller neighbours who in due course again asserted their independence as soon as a favourable opportunity arose. These internal wars were, however, minor events; they did not lead to any important political changes. These chiefs, being almost of the same race and faith and closely related to one another by marriage or even closer family ties, were content to make each other tributary, or to replace a deposed ruler by one of their own kinsmen.

Socially, the Panjāb witnessed remarkable changes during this period. The Muslim population was divided into four casses. The first was the nobility or the Mansabdars, who were held in high esteem and occupied high posts in the civil and military

departments. Their income was very large, but hoarding was alied to their nature and extravagance was their characteristic trait. This class of the spendthrift Muslim aristocrats was further divided into two sections; the first section was of the foreign Amirs, and the second of the converts. The foreign Amirs had the better status in military as well as in civil service. The native Muslims did not enjoy the same privileges or confidence of the Great Mughals. The middle class of the Muslims consisted of the professionals, such as scholars, religious men, lower officials, merchants and traders. Although the income of this class was not large, yet it was enough to keep them in comparative well-being. The lower class, or the Muslim masses, were the labourers, the farmers, the petty shopkeepers, menials and domestic servants. Their condition was exceedingly miserable. They lived in wretched houses and, being at the subsistence level, fell easy prey to famine and epidemic. The lowest class of society, during this period, was that of the slaves and eunuchs. Each of the Mughal officials kept a regular army of servants, wretchedly paid with their wages, often in arrears, though generally honest; yet, they were better off than the majority of the population, on which the Mughal Amirs preyed.[4]

The Hindus of this period were divided into their four traditional classes. The Brahmans retained their social supremacy as the priestly class. Next to the Brahmans were the Kshatryas, the Rajputs of this era, who generally followed the military profession. The Vaisyas tended herds (Gujars), tilled the fields (Jats and many related tribes), and carried on trade (Banias, Aroras, etc.). And the lowest class was that of the Sudras or the menials. Among the Hindus, who formed the great majority of the population in the province, the bonds of caste were very tight, as was the case among the Hindus of the other provinces of India. They were further divided into a number of castes and sub-castes, but the main basis of diversity of caste was the diversity of occupation.

There were many well-to-do Hindu communities and groups. The lower branches of administration, especially the department of revenue and finance, were manned almost exclusively by them. The Khuts, the Chaudharies and the Muqadams were mostly Hindus. So were the merchants, businessmen and traders, as well as petty shopkeepers. They almost monopolized the banking and money-lending professions. The Hindu traders and money-lenders of Lahore and Multan were well-known throughout India and Iran.

The Mughal rulers introduced many social reforms. Widow-marriage, strictly prohibited by traditional Hindu Dharma, was allowed by the law of the land. Under Muslim influence it was greatly encouraged. Female infanticide, which was very prevalent

among the non-Muslims of the Panjāb, was much restricted by the administration. The Sikh Gurus had also revolted against the caste system. Guru Ram Das and Guru Arjan Dev spoke strongly against the practice of Sati and lent their fullest co-operation to Emperor Akbar when he decreed that no woman should be forced to become a Sati against her will.

The religious tolerance of the Muslim Sufi saints and the liberalism of the Sikh Gurus contributed to the similarity of Hindu and Muslim festivals and a closer association of both the communities. Hindus and Muslims generally studied side by side in the same school and learned the same language (Persian). A mutual exchange of words, thoughts and ideas in art and literature, religion and worship, as also adoptions and incorporations in other fields, had set in. All these forces combined and cumulatively contributed to the cultural and social assimilation of the people.

Under this cohesive influence, many modes of worship and smaller deities and demons became common. Guga or the serpent-god was worshipped both by the Hindus and the Muslims. The guardians of the tomb of Shah Shamas, near Kalanaur, were Hindus, the descendants of Dipali.[5] Baba Lalpuri, a devotee of Balak Rupi of Achal, in Gurdaspur District, was held in great honour by both the communities. Similar is the case with Farid Ganj-i-Shakar of Pak Pattan and Shah Daula of Gujrat.

Akbar's enlightened policy of religious toleration made a deep impression upon the minds of both Muslims and unconventional Hindus. The liberalism and unconventional ways of the Muslim Sufis had given an impetus to communal harmony. Despite the fact that Akbar's two successors considerably modified their policy and Aurangzeb even repudiated it, the masses in the Panjāb continued to live in an atmosphere of comparative friendliness. The liberal and more broad-minded teachings of the Sikh Gurus also tended to promote communal harmony. Todar Mal's great reform by which he ordered the revenue records to be kept in Persian, prompted the Hindus to learn this language and thus indirectly brought them under the influence of Muslim teachers. This materially tended to bring the Hindus and Muslim close to each other.

From time immemorial, the people of the Panjāb have been fond of festivities. The Great Mughals encouraged these festivities. Their patronage lent colour, vigour and enthusiasm to the celebration of tournaments, games, fairs and festivals. There were many kinds of amusements in which the people in general and the nobles in particular took keen interest. Chaugan, Kabutar-Bazi (pigeon-flying), Chaupar, Chandal Mandal, playing cards and hunting were the games in which people usually indulged

for recreation. Fine arts, such as music, dance and painting, were cultivated at all levels.

Economically this province benefited much from the comparative peace and security afforded by Mughal rule. It was one of the most fertile provinces of India. In the days of Akbar, the total area of the cultivable land was 1,61,55,643 Bighas. Towards the beginning of the eighteenth century (1720) this area increased to 2,43,19,960 Bighas.[6] It was parcelled out into five assessment circles, generally known as Doabs, which were further divided into 234 Parganas. The Mughal rulers paid some attention to improvement in agriculture and experimented with new and the latest methods in cultivation of the choicest products of Turkistan, Iran and some other countries.[7] Vetches of Kabul and musk-melons of Iran were among the foreign crops which were cultivated in the Land of the Five Rivers.[8]

Taqavi loans were granted to the peasants whenever the latter required money to make improvements in their lands. During famines and other unforeseen calamities, the rulers remitted the land revenues as well. Shah Jahan had gone to the extent of setting up free kitchens from which free food was served to all those who were affected by the famine. Better irrigational facilities were provided to the cultivators. Ali Mardan Khan, the governor of the Panjāb, dug a canal from the river Tavi (Jammu) where it entered the plains, which irrigated the lands around the city of Lahore. Encouragement was given to the peasants to dig wells and to fit them with the Persian wheels,[9] which considerably facilitated agriculture.

In this period, industry made marked progress in the Panjāb. The biggest industrial centres were at Lahore, Gujrat, Sialkot Batala, Sultanpur Lodi, Bajwara, Multan and Sirhind. The Mughal rulers were great lovers of handicrafts and they extended their patronage to all types of manufactures. The imperial workshops at Lahore, Gujrat and Sialkot turned out many masterpieces of workmanship; the figures, the pattern-knots and the variety of fashion could astonish merchants and travellers from foreign countries. Good paper, especially the Mansinghi paper and silken paper of very good texture, white, clean and durable, was manufactured at Sialkot and exported to all destinations. Embroidery with silk and gold threads and many kinds of Bafta, Chira (scarf), Fotah (sheet), Sozani, Adsaka, table cloth, tray covers and small tents with figures in gold thread were also manufactured there.[10]

At the Lahore workshop, boats weighing sixty tons and upward were built, and vessels fit for the coasting trade were constructed under the diligent attention of Akbar.[11] Large factories of silk and sugar also existed.[12]

The weaving of shawls, mainly from hair, though primarily an art of Kashmir, was practised at Lahore also under Akbar's patronage and, on a smaller scale, in other towns of the province. Carpet weaving and textile manufacture made an all-round progress during the Mughal period. Gujrat was known for the manufacture of Jamdhari weapons and embroidery, Sultanpur Lodi for the manufacture of printed cloth, and Bajwara for the cloth industry. Mineral industries also flourished. Silver, copper, brass and zinc were the principal minerals which were being worked. The Khera salt mines provided salt to the people of the Panjāb, Kashmir and Himachal. This salt was obtained from the salt rock near Shamasabad, in the Sind-Sagar Doab. Its salineness and delicate taste were renowned as surpassing those of the salts of other places on the surface of the earth.[13]

Brisk trade was carried on with the Asiatic countries on the one hand and the principal cities of India on the other. A network of roads linked all the important towns. The main centres of the province were connected with wide roads, where caravans and other vehicles could ply safely. From Kashmir to Lahore, Lahore to Multan, Kabul to Delhi through Lahore, and Lahore to Kangra, were the highways of trade. On either side of these roads were planted fruit and other shade trees. Caravan Sarais were erected with separate lodgings for Muslims and Hindus. Grain and fodder were supplied for horses and cattle and each Caravan Sarai contained a well and a mosque built of burnt bricks. These Caravan Sarais were set up at the strategic stations, where small contingents were also kept to ward off the robbers. These roads had made Lahore and Multan great centres of trade.

The whole system of currency was overhauled by Akbar. The provincial mint of the Panjāb was established at Lahore, in 1577, under the control of an imperial officer, Muzaffar Khan. The currency system, which was in a chaotic condition during the Sultanate period, was reformed into a well-devised system.[14]

The Mughals patronised the old native architecture, which continued to exert influence upon Muslim architecture, and expressed itself in narrow columns, plasters, corbel brackets and other ornamental features of the Mughal buildings. Lahore is a Mughal city from an architectural point of view. Development in architecture was initiated by Babar, who had invited from Constantinople a pupil of the famous Albanian Architect, Senan, to infuse a new impulse into the Panjāb style of architecture. The style of architecture evolved by Akbar represented a fusion of Hindu and Muslim styles and may be called the mixed Hindu-Muslim style of this province. This art reached the height of perfection in the time of Shah Jahan, who built palaces, mosques, tombs and pavillions of white marble at Lahore and at several other places. Many new towns sprang up. The Mughal Emperors

and their nobles did much to enhance the glory of the province in general and Lahore and Multan in particular.

Paintings also flourished in this period, which are characterised by graphic colouring and ornamental borders. The Mughals patronised the art of sculpture to beautify their buildings and palaces. Ivory carving and miniatures in ivory were highly prized by them. Other crafts, such as ornamental pottery and metal work, were also much developed. Ornamental brassware, silver, gold and other metal vessels, with inlay work (Koft-gari), were turned out on a considerable scale. The Mughal Emperors also greatly relished the art of the laying of gardens. The love of gardening displayed by them had an enduring impression on the mind and the taste of the people—Hindus as well as Muslims. The Shalimar Gardens at Lahore and the Pinjaur Gardens (near Chandigarh) are living examples of the splendour of gardening of the Great Mughals.

The Great Mughals sprinkled the Panjāb with educational institutions. They opened schools and colleges in every çorner of India, but the Panjāb, being the frontier province, had perhaps a greater share of the royal patronage for education. They not only encouraged the study and cultivation of the higher arts, literature and philosophies by liberal grants and rewards to deserving men, but also founded a good many schools and colleges, and gave adequate endowments for their upkeep. The important colleges which they opened were in Lahore, Multan, Gujrat, Sialkot, Batala and learned teachers were employed by the government to impart higher education. Religious schools in the mosques and in the houses of the Qazis were maintained in every town.

Numerous subjects were taught, as already detailed, in the higher institutions. Separate schools were built for grown-up girls; but girls below the teens received education in the same schools with the boys. Technical education was given in Karkhanas of apprenticeship. The trading classes maintained their own schools for the instruction of their children in the rudiments of the three R's and made suitable arrangements for the promotion of their knowledge in business and accounts. Such schools have survived even to our own times.

With the introduction of Persian as the court language, the study of this language had become desirable for its pecuniary advantages. The reign of the Mughals is called the golden period of Persian and Arabic learning. Raja Todar Mal, Sayyid Abdulla Sultanpuri, Sa'adulla Khan, Munshi Sujan Rai Bhandari, Chander Bhan Brahman, Abdul Hamid Lahori, Kamal Sialkoti, Mullah Abdul Hamid Sialkoti, Mullah Jami Lahori, Munshi Harkaran and Nand Lal Goya were prominent scholars of Arabic and Persian during this period.

The earliest phase of Panjābi literature synchronised with the times in which the modern Indian group of Indo-Aryan languages was shaping itself. Parallet to the royal patronage of Arabic and Persian languages, the Muslim Sufis and the Sikh Gurus patronised this language of the people of the Panjāb. The first centre of Panjābi literary activity had emerged in the western (Lehanda) region of the province, in and around the old town of Multan. Pak Pattan and Kasur were great centres of Sufi tradition, and Panjābi poetry continued to be cultivated here from the time of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar. The Sikh Gurus expanded its horizons and endowed it with a new daring and a fresh vigour, so that it forged links with the life of men and their dreams of fulfilment.

Hindi, in its different forms, Avadhi, Rajasthani, Braji, was the common literary language of the Panjābi people from the period that began with Muslim rule. It produced many poets of great stature like Tulsi Das, Surdas, Mira, during this period. But the Mughals were not much inclined to patronise this language.

The greatest cultural contribution of the Mughals is the Urdu language. It was a common spoken dialect that emerged as a consequence of contact of the Indian people with the foreign Turks and other Central Asian Muslims during the period of the Sultanate of Delhi, 1206-1526 A.D. But it remained in a fluid condition till it received royal patronage under the Mughals. The intellectual, commercial and social intercourse of the various communities living in this province, coupled with the hearty welcome of the Hindus, made this language very popular.

NOTES

1. *Akbar the Great Mughal* — Smith, p. 44.
   Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I — Blochman, p. 507.
2. *The Land of the Five Rivers* — Trivaskis, p. 9.
3. *Panjab Census Report*, Vol. I — Ibbetson (1881), pp. 441, 481.
4. *India at the Death of Akbar* — Moreland, p. 266.
5. *India of Aurangzeb* — J. N. Sarkar, pp. 68-88.
6. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Jarrett, pp. 377, 378.
7. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 312.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
9. *India of Aurangzeb* — J. N. Sarkar, p. 110.
10. *India of Aurangzeb* — J. N. Sarkar, p. 95.
11. *India at the Death of Akbar* — Moreland, p. 156.
12. *India at the Death of Akbar* — Moreland, pp. 147, 164.
13. *India of Aurangzeb* — J. N. Sarkar, p. 100.
14. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, pp. 320, 321.

APPENDIX A

GOVERNORS OF THE PANJAB

(1527-1707 A.D.)

1.	Mir Yunis Ali	...	1527-1530 A.D
2.	Mirza Kamran	...	1530-1540 „
3.	Khawas Khan-Muhabat Khan	...	1540-1545 „
4.	Khawaja Vais Sarwani	...	1545-1553 „
5.	Sikander Shah Sur	...	1553-1555 „
6.	Farhat Khan	...	1555 „
7.	Shah Abul Maali	...	1555-1556 „
8.	Hussain Khan Tukriya	...	1556-1557 „
9.	Farhat Khan Mihtar	...	1557-1560 „
10.	Shamas-ud-din Atka Khan	...	1560-1566 „
11.	Mir Muhammad	...	1566-1568 „
12.	Husain Quli Khan	...	1568-1575 „
13.	Shah Quli Muharam	...	1575-1578 „
14.	Sa'id Khan	...	1578-1585 „
15.	Imperial Headquarters	...	1585-1598 „
16.	Khawaja Shamas-ud-din Khawafi	...	1598-1600 „
17.	Zain Khan Koka	...	1600-1601 „
18.	Mirza Qulij Khan	...	1601-1605 „
19.	Sa'id Khan	...	1605 „
20.	Dilawar Khan	...	1605-1610 „
21.	Shaikh Farid (Murtza Khan)	...	1610-1616 „
22.	Sadiq Khan	...	1616-1624 „
23.	Asaf Khan	...	1624-1628 „
24.	Wazir Khan	...	1628-1637 „
25.	Ali Mardan Khan	...	1637-1644 „
26.	Qulich Khan	...	1644-1647 „
27.	Jafar Khan	...	1647-1659 „
28.	Khalil-Ullah Khan	...	1659-1661 „
29.	Ibrahim Khan	...	1661-1667 „
30.	Muhammad Amin Khan	...	1667-1672 „
31.	Fidai Khan	...	1672 „
32.	Amanat Khan	...	1672-1678 „
33.	Qawam-ud-din Khan	...	1678-1680 „
34.	Muhammad Azim	...	1680-1691 „
35.	Khan Jahan Bahadur	...	1691 „
36.	Muqarram Khan	...	1691-1697 „
37.	Abu Nasir Khan	...	1697 „
38.	Abrahim Khan	...	1697-1700 „
39.	Prince Muhammad Muazzam	...	1700-1705 „
40.	Zabardast Khan	...	1705 „
41.	Prince Muhammad Muazzam	...	1705-1707 „

APPENDIX B

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION

The Panjab was parcelled into five assessment circles,[1] as mentioned elsewhere, generally known as Doabs, and again sub-divided into 234 Parganas.[2] The total area of measured land rose from 1,61,55,643 Bighas in 1594 to 2,43,19,960 Bighas in 1720 A.D.

The territorial division was, however, assessed for purposes of revenue in 1594, during Akbar's reign, and the assessment changed from time to time till the death of the last Great Mughal.[3]

Divisions :

1594	5	Doabs	232 Mahals[4]
1665	14	Sarkars	314 Parganas
1695	5	Doabs	316 Mahals
1700	5	Doabs	458 Mahals
1720	5	Doabs	329 Mahals

Sarkars : 1594	1720
Jullundur Doab, 60 Mahals	Jullundur Doab, 69 Mahals
Bari Doab, 52 Mahals	Bari Doab, 57 Mahals
Rechna Doab, 57 Mahals	Rechna Doab, 49 Mahals
Chinhat Doab, 21 Mahals	Chinhat Doab, 22 Mahals
Sind Sagar Doab, 42 Mahals	Sind Sagar Doab, 48 Mahals
	Kangra Doab, 63 Mahals

AREA AND REVENUE

The total area of measured land rose from 1,61,55,643 Bighas in 1594 to 2,43,19,960 Bighas in 1720 A.D.

Sarkars	*Area in Bighas*		*Revenue in Rupees*	
	1594	1720	1594	1720
Jullundur	32,79,303	39,39,518	31,09,130	35,93,751
Bari	45,80,003	52,39,857	35,70,204	49,33,751
Rechna	42,53,148	98,52,010	42,01,192	10 66,088
Chinhat	26,33,210	40,41,809	16,12,560	23,17,218
Sind Sagar	14,09,929	12,56,771	12,97,805	35,14,984
Kangra	—	—	—	14,51,346

The total provincial revenue was :

1594	Rs.	1,39,86,460
1648	Rs.	2,25,00,000
1654	Rs.	2,72,43,994
1665	Rs.	2,46,95,000
1695	Rs.	2,23,34,500

1697	Rs.	2,33,95,500	
1700	Rs.	2,23,25,985	
1707	Rs.	2,06,53,302	
1720	Rs.	1,45,29,765	(excluding Kangra)
	Rs.	1,59,81,111	(including Kangra)

According to Babar the details of the revenue in 1528 were as follows:

The Divisions of Bhira, Lahore, Sialkot and Dipalpur (Trans-Satlej)	= 3,33,15,980 Tanks
Sirhind	= 1,29,31,985 Tanks
Hissar-i-Feroza	= 1,30,75,174 Tanks[5]

Chatarman, the author of the Chahar Gulshan, who wrote his treatise in 1759, gives the details of Doabs of the Panjab as follows :

DETAILS OF DOABS

Bet Jullundur. 59 Mahals, of which records for 15 not received, and the area of 7 more unknown. Remaining 47 Mahals: area 39,39,518-4/20 Bighas; 5,784 Mauzas; revenue 14,37,50,069 Dam (Rs. 35,93,751-11-7).

Hilly		28 Mahals	2,71,00,070 Dam
Plain		19 Mahals	11,65,80,069 Dam
	Total	47 Mahals	14,36,80,139 Dam

Bari Doab. 57 Mahals, for 21 of which records not obtained. Of remaining 36 Mahals: area 52,39,857 Bighas; 4,678 Mauzas; revenue 19,73,50,057 Dam (Rs. 49,33,751-6-10).

Rechna Doab. 49 Mahals, for six of which records not received. Of remaining 43 Mahals: area 98,52,010 Bighas; 4,693 Mauzas; revenue 4,26,43,315 Dam (Rs. 10,66,087-14-0).

Mandyat		12 Mahals	34,13,340 Dam
Baharjat		26 Mahals	4,20,30,440 Dam
		38 Mahals	4,54,43,780 Dam
Parganas	Total	30 Mahals	20,12,94,241 Dam

Chinhat Doab. 22 Mahals, for three of which records not received; of five more area unknown. Of remaining 14 Mahals : area 40,41,809 Bighas; 7,583 Mauzas; revenue 9,26,88,735 Dam (Rs. 23,17,218-6-0).

Hilly		11 Mahals	1,75,55,699 Dam
Plain		11 Mahals	7,51,33,241 Dam
	Total	22 Mahals	9,26,88,940 Dam

Sind Sagar Doab. 48 Mahals, for 17 of which records not received, of 19 more area unknown. Of remaining 12 Mahals: area 12,56,771—12/20 Bighas; 2,177 Mauzas; revenue 14,05,99,371 Dam (Rs. 35,14,984-4-5).

Hilly		36 Mahals	11,10,83,571 Dam
Plain		12 Mahals	2,95,15,500 Dam
	Total	48 Mahals	14,05,99,071 Dam

Kangra (outside the Doab region). 63 Mahals, for 32 of which records not received; of 25 others area unknown. Of remaining six Mahals: 311 Mauzas; revenue 5,80,53,832 Dam (Rs. 14,51,345-12-10).

The different totals (including those of Kangra) are given below :

Total	Sarkars	Mahals	Area in Bighas	Mauzas	Revenue in Dam
S.	5	308	2,43,29,965-16/20	25,226	67,50,85,579
P.	5	329	2,43,19,960	30,256	58,11,90,599
A.	5	232	1,61,55,643-3/20	—	55,94,58,423

Hissar. 28 Mahals, for seven of which area unknown. Of remaining 21 Mahals: area 71,48,184 Bighas; 2,373 Mauzas; revenue 8,83,79,328 Dam (Rs. 22,09,483-3-2).

Sirhind. 38 Mahals, for three of which area unknown. Of remaining 35 Mahals: area 1,57,86,388 Bighas; revenue 24,32,49,082 Dam (Rs. 60,81,227-0-10).

MULTAN

Multan. 53 Mahals, of which 17 unsettled. Of remaining 36 Mahals: 3,532 Mauzas, revenue 12,72,27,352 Dam (Rs. 31,80,683-12-10).

Dipalpur. 24 Mahals, for one of which statistics not obtained. Of remaining 23 Mahals: area 44,54,206-15/20 Bighas; 4,643 Mauzas; revenue 2,63,97,258 Dam (Rs. 6,59,931-3-2).

NOTES

1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I — Jarrett, pp. 377, 378.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 315.
3. Munshi Sujan Rai Bhandari writes that the province was divided into Doabs instead of Sarkars.
4. *Ain-i-Akbari* — Blochman, p. 315, gives 234 Parganas in the preliminary statement, but by adding together the Mahals of the Sarkars, we get 232 Mahals.
5. *Babarnama*, Vol. II — Beveridge, p. 52.

APPENDIX C

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

There were strong and well-built forts for the general or external defence of the country, already mentioned under the title of Faujdars. In addition to those, there were smaller stone, brick and mud forts built for the maintenance of the internal peace of the province, the details of which are given below.

Sarkar of Bet Jullundur. There were eleven stone forts at Bhalon, Tatarpur, Jason Balakoti, Dadial, Dadah, Rajpurpattan, Siba, Kutlehar, Kheunkhera, Gangot; and there were three brick forts at Jullundur, Dasuya and Sultanpur. The total number of cavalry and infantry stationed in these forts, including 48 other small stations, was 4,155 and 79,436, respectively.[1]

Sarkar of Bari Doab. There was a stone fort at Kangra and a brick fort at Pathankot. The total strength of cavalry and infantry stationed in these forts, including other 48 small stations, was 31,055 and 1,29,300, respectively.[2]

Sarkar of Rechna Doab. Stone forts were situated at Jammu and Mankot and brick forts at Eminabd, Patti Zafarwal and Chiniot. The total strength of cavalry and infantry stationed in these forts was 6,795 and 99,652, respectively.[3]

Chinhat (Jech) Doab. There were only two brick forts situated at Khokhar (Gakhar) and Hazara. The total strength of cavalry and infantry stationed there, as well as 20 more small stations, was 3,730 and 44,200, respectively.[4]

Sind Sagar Doab. Stone forts were situated at Attock, Paharhala, Suburban, Kahwan, Mallot and Makhial. There was only one brick fort at Nandanpur, situated on a hill. The total strength of the cavalry and infantry on these frontier forts and other 33 small stations was 8,553 and 69,700, respectively.[5]

SARKAR OF MULTAN

Bet Jullundur Doab. The names of the forts are not available, but the total strength of cavalry and infantry kept at the nine different stations was 1,410 and 17,100, respectively.[6]

Bari Doab. There were only two brick forts situated at Islampur and Multan town and the total strength of cavalry and infantry at the 11 stations in this area was 775 and 14,550, respectively.[7]

Rechna Doab. There were five stations where 770 cavalry and 9,500 infantry were kept.[8]

Sind Sagar Doab. There were only four stations where 220 cavalry and 2,000 infantry were kept.[9]

Birun-i-Panjnad. There were only three brick forts, situated at Dudai, Mau, and Marot. The total strength of cavalry and infantry maintained at 17 stations was 5,800 and 57,600, respectively.[10]

SARKAR OF DIPALPUR

Bet Jullundur Doab. There were five brick forts, situated at Pak Pattan, Dipalpur, Dhanakshah, Qabula and Qiampur Lakhi and the total strength of cavalry and infantry stationed here and five other forts was 2,400 and 20,400, respectively.[11]

Bari Doab. There was only one fort and the strength of cavalry and infantry stationed there, along with five other forts, was 1,100 and 14,000, respectively.[12]

Rechna Doab. The total strength of cavalry and infantry kept at the seven different stations was 610 and 6,300, respectively.[13]

Birun-i-Panjnad. The total strength of cavalry and infantry maintained at six stations here was 1,000 and 12,300, respectively.[14]

SARKAR HISSAR-I-FIROZA

This Sarkar, which was sometimes attached to the Suba of Delhi, had six brick forts at Atkhera, Bhatner, Dhatrat, Fatahabad, Mukim and Hansi. The total strength of cavalry and infantry of this Sarkar at 26 different stations was 6,875 and 60,800, respectively.[15]

SARKAR OF SIRHIND

There were 12 brick forts in the Sarkar, situated at Pael, Tihara (on the Satlej), Thanesar, Khizrabad, Rupar, Sirhind, Sunam, Sadhura, Kaithal, Ghuram, Ludhiana and Machhiwara. The total strength of cavalry and infantry stationed in these forts, as also 20 more stations, was 9,225 and 55,700, respectively.[16]

During the reign of Akbar the local force consisted of 654,480 cavalry and 426,086 infantry.[17]

NOTES

1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II — Jarrett, pp. 320, 321.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 322, 323.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 323, 324.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 325.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 326-28.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 331.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 332.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 332.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 333.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 333.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 334.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 334.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 335.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 335.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 298-300.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 300, 301.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 316.

APPENDIX D

IMPORTANT ROADS AND ROUTES

The principal means of communication of the Panjāb were the roads which connected Delhi and Lahore, Lahore and Multan, Lahore and Kashmir, Lahore and Attock, Lahore and Kangra, Delhi and Multan. There were some other equally important roads, such as the Hindustan-Tibet Road, which ran from the Shipki pass on the frontier of the Chinese Empire to Simla.

The Indian rulers regarded the building of roads, with rest houses, as a pious duty. But the Sultans of Delhi showed little care for such useful public works and their treasury and energy were spent mainly on such unproductive work as building mosques or destroying old cities to build new ones to perpetuate their own names.[1]

Among the Muslim kings, Sher Shah may be called the poineer who took real interest in public works of this kind and his glory lies in the great roads built by him, which have kept his memory still green in the minds of his countrymen. For the safety of his vast empire, he considered it imperative to build roads all over the country. The longest as well as the best-known among these was the one running from Sonargaon (near Dacca, now in East Pakistan) to the Indus, 1,500 Kos in length. It was "the greatest highway in the world."[2] The roads were admirably planned, connecting together all the strategic frontier cities; on any threatened point the armies of the empire could be concentrated rapidly.[3]

On either side of the roads were planted fruit trees, and beside them were erected Caravan Sarais with separate lodgings for Muslims and Hindus. Grain and fodder were supplied for horses and cattle, and each Caravan Sarai contained a well and a mosque of burnt brick, with a Muazzin, and Imam and several watchmen. "Once a traveller has occupied the room allotted to him nobody else may turn him out."[4] All these Caravan Sarais were maintained from the land attached to every Sarai. In every such halting station two horses were kept reaady, so that news from great distances might reach as early as possible.[5] These Sarais served as halting stations for state officials and were also the stations of conveyance of news by relays of horses. "By Dak-chauki, news reached Sher Shah (also to the Mughal Emperors later) every day from Nilab (the Indus) and the extremity of Bengal."[6]

The Grand Trunk Road from Agra to Attock was marked out by tall pillars (Kos-minars) twenty to thirty feet high at intervals of two and half miles. Though the roads were unmetalled,

they were clearly defined, in some cases by avenues of trees, and, more generally, by the Sarais, stated above. "In northern India, these routes were, in some cases at least, suitable for wheeled traffic and long lines of carts might occasionally be seen."[7]

The rivers were usually crossed by bridges of boats. Such bridges as there were constituted great barriers, perforated with numerous small pointed arches, affording considerably less waterway than the area of obstruction presented by the massive piers, which were erected on shallow wells and supported a continuous floor surface above. As already said, ordinarily rivers were crossed at fords by ferries or bridges of boats, and the passage became extremely difficult when the streams were in flood. Akbar's chief engineer, Qasim Khan, was specially skilful in the construction of bridges of boats for the passage of the imperial army. He built several such bridges over the rivers of the Panjāb in 1581.[8]

The most important road of the Panjāb, during this period, was that from Agra to Attock, Lahore being the rendezvous of all the main roads and routes of the Panjāb. From a political and military point of view, its importance can hardly be overrated, as it linked together all the then northern cantonments of note and maintained communication with Peshawar, the greatest frontier station. In this respect this road was of cardinal strategic importance to the Panjāb and to India. But to the Panjāb it conferred another significant benefit by forming a great highway, passing through the upper districts, the chief cities, and commanding the entrance to Hazara and giving access at several points to Kashmir. It thus constituted a vital artery from which numerous branches separated off in various directions. Lastly, it was the great outlet and channel for the import and export trade between India, Central Asia and the West.[9]

The next important road of the Panjāb was that from Lahore to Multan. Multan was well-situated (as even today) for purposes of trade, on account of the three rivers which pass through the province of Multan and which have confluence not far from the city. Multan is on the trade route from Iran through Qandhar to India.[10] It would be curious to note that at the time of the British occupation of the Panjāb, the caravans which travelled from Delhi to Ghazni — the two most important cities of the Muslim empire — followed this most difficult and circuitous route emerging from the passes of the Sulaiman Range at Dera Ismail Khan, they toiled through the wilds of the Sind Sagar Doab to Multan and then turned northwards to Lahore; thence they proceeded to Ferozepur and Ludhiana. Sometimes they travelled downwards from Multan to Bahawalpur. The two ancient trade routes in these regions were : (*i*) From Dera Ismail Khan via Mankhera, Shorkot, Harappa, Pak Pattan, Fazilka, Samana to Delhi; and (*ii*) from Dera Ghazi Khan via Multan,

the route proceeded to meet the former one at Pak Pattan. Pak Pattan was the famous ferry over the Satlej. These roads often passed through arid and desolate tracts, and wells and hostelries were provided at suitable intervals, without which these roads would have been useless.

These roads had made Lahore, Multan, Sialkot, Gujrat, Attock, Dipalpur, Pathankot, Bajwara, Sultanpur and Sirhind great centres of trade.[11] Twelve to fourteen thousand loaded camels passed through Lahore every year.[12] Traders of different nationalities, viz. Armenians, tribes from Aleppo and Gujaratis, had settled in Lahore and they carried on trade with foreign countries on a large scale. Lahore was also a great market for Indigo.[13]

MAIN ROUTES

Delhi to Lahore. (1) Badli, 9 miles north-west of Delhi railway junction; (2) Narela, 16 miles; (3) Sonipat, 27 miles; (4) Ganaur, 37 miles; (5) Samalkha, 44 miles — Also known as Sambal-ki-Sari. This part of the country was exceptionally dangerous, being infested with robbers;[14] (6) Paniapt, 55 miles; (7) Gharanda, 66 miles; (8) Sarai Pul, 72 miles; (9) Karnal, 76 miles; (10) Taraori, 84 miles; (11) Azimabad, just before the Nai Nadi (River) is crossed; (12) Thanesar,[15] 25 miles south-east of Ambala, on the Grand Trunk Road towards Delhi. Here the Saraswati river was crossed; (13) Shahbad (Markanda), 111 miles; (14) Ambala, 123 miles; (15) Sarai Noon; (16) Sarai Hajjam; (17) Todar Mal; (18) Aluwa, 18 miles north of Ambala; (19) Sirhind,[16] 30 miles north of Ambala; (20) Khanna, 42 miles from Ambala; (21) Sarai Lashkari Khan, 52 miles; (22) Doraha,[17] 55 miles; (23) Ludhiana; the town was situated on the left bank of the Satlej. Since then the river has shifted its bed, nine miles towards the north; (24) Philour, 11 miles north, north-west of Ludhiana on the Grand Trunk Road; (25) Noor Mahal, 8 miles from Philour; (26) Nikodar, 20 miles; (27) Dakhani (Sarai), 25 miles, also known as Jahangirpura; (28) Sultanpur, 40 miles. Here the Kalna Nadi (river) was crossed immediately west of the town and the Beas river, 6 miles further north-west at the ferry of Baoopur; (29) Fatehabad, 43 miles from Philour and 13 miles from Sultanpur; (30) Naurangabad, 8 miles north-west of Fatehabad and 4 miles south-east of Tarn Taran; (31) Sarai Noor-ud-din, 8 miles from Naurangabad to the north-west; (32) Kanchani-da-pul, 9 miles to the north-west of Hoshiarnagar, towards Lahore from Amritsar; and (33) Hoshiarnagar, 5 miles north of Sarai Amanat Khan and 21 miles east of Lahore, and Shab Ganj, 34 miles.[18]

Lahore to Attock. The road from Lahore to Attock was infested with Pathan brigands, and although the Great Mughals established twenty guard stations of armed troops at regular intervals, nevertheless travellers were frequently robbed by those brigands. "They seize small or ill-prepared bodies of strangers, drag them away into the recesses of the mountains, and enslave them; they even mutilate their captives to prevent their escape."[19]

The stages of the journey were as follows: (1) Shahdara, 3 miles north of Lahore fort, on the other side of the Ravi; (2) Fazilabad, 15 miles from Lahore to the north; (3) Pul Shah Daula, 22 miles from Lahore, on the Degh river; (4) Eminabad, 33 miles from Lahore and 9 miles south of Gujranwala; (5) Hakimabad; (6) Gakhar Cheema, 11 miles north of Gujranwala; (7) Wazirabad, 10 miles to the north from Gakhar Cheema, after this the Chenab is crossed; (8) Gujrat, 9 miles to the north of Wazirabad; (9) Khawaspur, 11 miles north, north-west of Gujrat and 6 miles south-west and west of Daulat Nagar. Then the Bhimber river is crossed; (10) Kharian (Kinari), 12 miles north-west, a pass; (11) Khariala, 14 miles from Khawaspur; (12) Sarai Alamgir, 3 miles north of the Jhelum river; (13) Naurangabad, near Sarai Alamgir; (14) Chakoa, 9 miles north-west of Rohtas fort; (15) Khurda Jalal, 20 miles north of Rohtas fort; (16) Paka, 10 miles north-west of Sarai Jalal Khan; (17) Rowat; 12 miles south-east of Rawalpindi; (18) Lashkari; (19) Rawalpindi; (20) Kalapani, 17 miles north-west of Rawalpindi; (21) Hassan Abdal (Panja Sahib), 9 miles north-west of Kalapani; (22) Madrata, 19 miles north-west and west of Hassan Abdal; and (23) Attock, 8 miles, on the eastern bank of the Indus.[20]

Lahore to Multan. (1) Abul Hasan; (2) Aurangabad; (3) Naushehra, south-west of Lahore; (4) Mapalki, 14 miles south-west of Naushehra; (5) Satghara, 14 miles south of Mapalki; (6) Khan Kamalawala, 20 miles south-west and west of Satghara; (7) Chauki Fattu (Jhok), 12 miles north-east of Harappa; (8) Harappa; (9) Chichawatni, 12 miles south-west and west of Harappa; (10) Sahawa Gharib, 6 miles south of Chichawatni; (11) Talamba, 10 miles from Channu railway station; (12) Sard, 19 miles north of Sarai Sidhoo; (13) Khalid (Kulalpur), 8 miles north of Sard; and (14) Mardanpur, 36 miles from Multan to the north-east.[21]

Lahore to Kashmir. From Lahore the route to Kashmir was common with that of Attock up to Gujrat already given above. It separated from Gujrat to Srinagar. (1) Daulat Nagar, 12 miles north of Gujrat; (2) Bhimber, 16 miles north of Daulatnagar, on the western bank of the Bhimber river; (3) Chauki Hati, 7 miles north of Bhimber, on the western bank of the Tavi river; (4) Naushehra, 16 miles north of Bhimber, on the western bank of the Ravi river; (5) Chinges Hati, 6 miles north, north-east

of Naushehra; (6) Inayatpur (Moradpur), 7 miles north-west of Chinges Sarai; (7) Rajaur, 16 miles north, north-east of Naushehra; (8) Thanna (Thanna Bazar), 12 miles north of Rajaur; (9) Baramgula, 5 miles north-east, north of Thanna; (10) Poshana, 2 miles from Baramgula; (11) Sarai Ali Mardan Ali Khan (Sarai Muhammad Quli), about four miles onward; (12) Sa'id Hala, Sarai Sokhta; (13) Hirpur, 10 miles north of Poshana; (14) Shadi Marg (Shajamarg), 6 miles from Hirpur; (15) Khanpur, 18 miles north, north-east of Hirpur; and (16) Srinagar, 11 miles from Khanpur to the north.[22]

Before the advent of the Great Mughals the most important route from the North-West Frontier to Delhi was through Tulamba to Pak Pattan, Dipalpur, Fatehabad, Rajpur, Ahrwan, and Tohana to Delhi.

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2. *The Panjab, N.W.F.P. and Kashmir* — Douie, p. 127.
3. *History of India*, Vol. IV — Elliot and Dowson, p. 417.
   Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. II — Ranking, p. 472.
   Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. I, Text, p. 225.
4. *The Empire of the Great Mughal* — De Laet (Hoyland), p. 55.
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6. *Tabqat-i-Akbari* — Nizam-ud-din Ahmed, Text, p. 232.
   Tarikh-i-Firishta, Vol. I, Text, p. 228.
7. *India at the Death of Akbar* — Moreland, pp. 6, 7.
8. *Akbar the Great Mughal* — Smith, p. 300.
9. *The Gates of India* — Thomas Holditch, pp. 80-82.
10. *The Empire of the Great Mughal* — De Laet (Hoyland), p. 78.
11. De Laet, *English Translation* — Hoyland, pp. 52, 53.
12. *Early Travels* — Purchas, p. 63.
13. *Voyage to East India* — Edward Tery, p. 30.
14. *The Empire of the Great Mughal* — De Laet (Hoyland), p. 49.
15. "It was a fortified place". *Ibid.*
16. There was another route which was very popular up to the reign of Jahangir, and separated from the above route at Sirhind; it led through Machhiwara, Rupar, Rahon, Rajaga, Sarai Noor-ud-din, Adina Nagar Patial Kalanaur and Sarai Amanat Khan; then to Lahore. Sirhind was a big halting station and sometimes it was the base of supplies for the war operations towards the North-West Frontier Province of India.
17. Doraha, means two routes. The Rupar and Rahon route was followed from here. The caravans generally used to go from here to Rupar, Rahon Garhshankar, Bajwara, Hariana, Dasuya, Pathankot, Sialkot, Gujrat and so onward.
18. *The Empire of the Great Mughal* — De Laet (Hoyland), pp. 49, 50.
19. *The Empire of the Great Mughal* — De Laet (Hoyland), p. 70.
20. *The Empire of the Great Mughal* — De Laet (Hoyland), p. 69.
21. *The Empire of the Great Mughal* — De Laet (Hoyland), p. 78.
22. *Journal of the Historical Society*, Vol. I (1888), p. 39.
   Journal of the Journey of Richard Steel and Willam Growther (1615 A.D.), p. 123.
   The India of Aurangzeb — Jadunath Sarkar, pp. CC VII.

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